Daily Report

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Yugoslavia

International—In an interview with Belgrade TV, Yugoslav Presidency Vice President Branko Kostic said the UN secretary general's report on the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina would "reinforce our trust in the international community and the United Nations," but the "one-sided approach" of the sanctions encouraged "those who are fanning the flames of war" in Bosnia, naming Bosnian President Izetbegovic as fitting "this description." Kostic said Yugoslavia was looking for an "honorable way out of this impasse" with "the help of the United Nations."

Serbia—When asked in an interview with London TV if he would resign if that were "the best path to peace," President Slobodan Milosevic responded "absolutely" if it were "the price for lifting all sanction." Milosevic said that would be "the cheapest way" and it would be "no problem at all." Milosevic said the "problem" was "the continuation of existence of our country" and the right of Serbians "to live together" without being "dictated [to] from outside."

Montenegro—"We in Montenegro are ready to do absolutely everything to meet the demands of the world community," President Momir Bulatovic said. According to TANJUG, the president said that through "careful reading" of the UN document on sanctions "it can be clearly seen that room has been left for...lifting the sanctions." Bulatovic said "new, politically uncompromised figures" should represent Yugoslavia.

Croatia

According to Zagreb Radio, the Croatian Government has called for "urgent military intervention by NATO or European forces." Permanent CSCE representative Darko Bekic claims this would help destroy "the enemy's artillery batteries and the airports from which the Serb-controlled Yugo-army continues to launch attacks on city centers in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina."

Romania

According to Bucharest Radio, the government adopted a "declaration" that "took note of the resolution issued by the UN Security Council...according to which economic and other sanctions are instituted against Serbia and Montenegro." The declaration notes that sanctions were instituted under Chapter 7 of the UN Charter "which presupposes the obligation of all UN member and nonmember states to implement" them. The government "regrets" that the CSCE and UN have been unsuccessful in stopping the Yugoslav crisis. "Devoted" to the principles of international law, Romania "will respect" the UN decision.

Hungary

Hungary will suspend trade with Serbia and Montenegro at 0000 on 4 June, reports MTI. "The ban applies to road, rail and air traffic alike," but will not apply to "shipping on the Danube, since the river is an international waterway." The Hungarian Government has provided a two-day grace period, until 6 June, to accomodate shipments under way.

Poland

Reacting to a 28 May Sejm resolution calling on the Interior Ministry to provide the Sejm with information on deputies that collaborated with the former secret police, President Lech Walesa, according to Warsaw Radio, issued a statement on 4 June asserting that the ministry's files had been "fabricated" and are creating a "fake reality." In protest over the resolution, deputies from the Democratic Union and the Congress of Liberal Democrats refused to accept Interior Ministry documents containing the names of former collaborators that were provided to the Sejm.

Albania

According to Tirana radio on 3 June, "at about 0200" in the morning, "300-400 citizens" who were attempting to board a ship to leave Vlore, "provoked the forces of order and the military forces" guarding the port by throwing stones at them. The radio reports that no one was injured and "they departed without resistance and without incident."

Military Forces Disperse Crowds in Vlore Port

AU0306181192 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1730 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Telephone report from Vlore]

[Text] At about 0200 this morning, about 300-400 citizens, including families, provoked the forces of order and the military forces guarding the port by throwing stones and other objects at the soldiers. The soldiers were forced to fire in the air to disperse the citizens. The forces of order scattered the crowds, but we learned from Mr. (?Tefik Cela), the Vlore police chief, that, at approximately 1530 today, 2,000 citizens from the city of Vlore and the surrounding villages tried to overcome the forces of order and the military forces guarding the port in order to enter the port and board the ship "Partizani." Thanks to the skill and the swift and effective response of the forces of order—the citizens were dispersed without injuries on either side. It is 1925 as I speak, and there are still groups of people around the port here in Vlore. The police have taken the necessary measures, the first of which was to remove the ships from the harbor. We will report again on events as they develop.

Further Report on Incident

AU0306203192 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 2000 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] The crowd of people left the port of Vlore at 2145. At 2115, the police and the forces of order, in cooperation with the port security and military forces, advised the citizens to leave. Persuaded that there would be no exodus from the harbor of Vlore, they departed without resistance and without incident. In the meantime, we have tried to reach Arben Caka, Vlore deputy police chief; Police Chief Mr. Vasil Ngjela; and Mr. Petraq Zoto, commander of the border guards, who told us that, even though the attempt at an exodus was repulsed and citizens were persuaded that there would be no exodus from the town of Vlore and its harbor—we border guards, the command, and the forces of order have taken measures, have been placed on highest alert, and have received reinforcements of personnel and equipment so that the town of Vlore and especially the zone around the harbor remain free. People have departed peacefully, convinced that there will be no exodus from Vlore.

Ministry Demands Surrender of Unlicensed Weapons

AU0306175592 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Statement issued by the Public Order Ministry in Tirana on 3 June]

[Text] The Public Order Ministry reminds all citizens that Law No. 7,566 of 25 May 1992 on weapons has been promulgated by Presidential Decree No. 195 of 29 May 1992.

This law states that no persons are entitled to carry weapons besides those defined in the law. Persons who lose the right to carry weapons are obliged to surrender them to the organs of public order. People in possession of unlicensed weapons who voluntarily surrender them within 15 days of the promulgation of the law are excluded from criminal prosecution. The forces of order are permitted to conduct searches for the unlicensed carrying of weapons. Those guilty of carrying unlicensed weapons are subject to prosecution and conviction. The carrying of unlicensed weapons of war is punishable by five to 15 years' imprisonment. We therefore call on the persons concerned to surrender their weapons to the organs of public order within the prescribed time.

'First Signs' of Economic Improvement Noted

AU0406071892 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 23 May 92 pp 1-2

[Xhevat Mustafa article: "The First Signs of a Turning Point"]

[Text] Two months have passed since 22 March and one month since the day when Mr. Meksi's government won the vote of confidence in the parliament. One month is a very short period to judge the ability and work of a government, especially if we bear in mind the grave situation and the general crises into which Enver-style socialism sank our country and which the Party of Labor and the Socialist Party preached and applied with absurd and crazy fanaticism. However, within such a short time, we have a good word to say and we can explain why we are optimistic.

The first positive signs of change, so much desired by everybody, are appearing. Every day we see and feel them more clearly, as they slowly melt the ice of the crisis of confidence and of pessimism. Of course there are also people who do not want to see these things because of party fanaticism, but continue to see a bright picture through dark glasses. They spew poison and gall at the Democratic Party and the democratic government because they and their offspring cannot permanently enjoy their power, priviledges, and treasure won in a dishonorable, illegal and cruel way, shamelessly stealing the people's sweat and blood.

We Seem To Breathe More Freely

The first sign of a turning point was seen and felt as early as 23 March. People flooded onto the streets and squares as if lifting from their shoulders a burden that had tortured them for a long time, not fearing, as they did before, the dark forces, which were always and amazingly unidentified although they did whatever they wanted in front of the forces of order. Panic-causing shots became less frequent, as if stopped by an invisible hand. It is clear to us whose hand it was. Some of the authors and actors of the scenario for terrorizing the people pondered and said, "We lost out with the

Socialist Party, let us turn our backs on it before its cart runs us over. Now let us think about ourselves and not add new faults to old sins."

The police have awakened from their lethargic sleep, and seem more active and effective. Television reports show this every evening. However, the full reestablishment of order is still far away. We believe that Mr. Kopliku and his colleagues in the government department and also locally will increase their commitment, efforts and pace of work to achieve this aim.

Is the World Helping Us?

We and the world say, "Yes." Only a few communist-socialists do not want to accept this truth, which shines on the television screens, in the pages of newspapers, in the harbor of Durres, at the airport, in the shops....

Let us do some arithmetic, without a calculator. Within about 50 days, $35 million was announced as aid or credit by the United States, 70 billion lira by Italy, 82 million marks by Germany, and 45 million ECU's by the European Community. To this should also be added the $15 million from the gold that Britain will return to us and the aid that Greece, Turkey, France, Hungary, Austria, Romania, Bulgaria, and Norway will give in hard currency or raw materials and food. We should not forget the large quantities of aid in food, clothing, medicine, etc., which have come and continue to come from associations, charities, and individuals of different countries. Thus, it is obvious that the world is helping us. But we should help ourselves a lot, too, by going back to work and by working hard just as our refugees do in the countries to which they have gone. By working harder we shall earn more, as the world earns. The fruit of the physical and intellectual labor of our industrious people will from now on always be valued a lot more than in the socialist epoch, when the Enverian state and the leadership compound would get 99.9 percent of the profit, whereas the poor worker would get only what remained.

Saved From the Tentacles of 80 Percent

A very clear and hopeful sign of a turning point in our favor is the resumption of work in several productive enterprises. We hope and believe that their number will continually increase. The removal of the 80-percent payment [proportion of wages paid to laid-off workers], one of the most destructive acts of the Carcani-Nano-Bufi governments, will have a strong effect. The arrival of raw materials from abroad, one of the priorities of the strategy and program of Mr. Meksi's government, will open the doors of many other enterprises. This may at least satisfy the minimal demands of our economy and market that are so desperately hungry and thirst. The mass resumption of work will open a wide road for the reform of the economy and will make the period of assistance easier and shorter for us. At the same time, it will increase our credibility in the eyes of the world, showing that we are looking forward to living by our sweat and that we know how to work. This will encourage a flood of foreign investment. Furthermore, our work force is and for a relatively long period will be cheaper than in many European countries.

Lines in Front of Shops Are Growing Shorter

During the time we are analyzing some of the basket commodities [staple goods whose prices remain frozen] that we have missed for months, such as cheese, eggs, macaroni, flour, sugar, and powdered milk, arrived on the state market. Very soon we shall have oil, soap, rice. The supply of meat and butter has become normal. A normal situation has been restored in the bakeries and kerosene shops. Lines still exist as a result of fear that we might run out of things, and this creates crowds when the supplies arrive; if you go to buy some basket commodities in the days that follow, you may often be the only customer in the shop. Of course we are still far away from the day when we shall be freed for good from lines, which are a socialist blight that will not be cured soon. The free or private market is becoming ever more abundant. Although the prices are beyond our logic and we have had to buy goods in the state shops, again it helps us to receive what is necessary. The peasants are bringing more fresh seasonal and animal products. In the beginning, prices are high but the abundance and the competition bring them down. At first, one kilogram of cherries was 40-50 leks but now you can buy them at 25 leks per kilogram, and maybe even cheaper in the afternoon. According to a firm tradition, the free market of the town of Kavaje remains without doubt the most plentiful and the cheapest. The prices are 40-60 percent cheaper here. Of course this is a matter of farm and animal products. In the autumn, the peasants will reap and harvest more. This implies that they will bring more to the towns. If they bring more, the prices will fall. Finally, this is a matter of the market economy. The problem is that it found us very poor and unprepared, in a total crisis, with mass unemployment and high and unrestrained inflation, and a government with no legal standing.

Of course you cannot say in a categorical way that these are indisputable signs or that there are no other signs that express our positive turnaround toward Europe. The real turning point, although we want it to come as soon as possible, is still far away. But let us not forget the proverb that says "A good start is half of the task."

Staple Foodstuffs Traded on Black Market

AU0206132392 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 24 May 92 p 1

[Article by Alush Aga: "Just 'for Show'!"]

[Text] We hear a lot about the Financial Police's "exploits."

Even in remote mountain zones, hundreds of vehicles are caught with hundreds of tons of goods that are either smuggled or stolen, but the fine is only a few thousand leks. Amazing!...

The fine is so symbolic that we wonder whether these vehicles are fined for the traffic offense of not observing the white lines out there in the forest (although there are no white lines in any of our cities, not even in our capital). No, sir. Do not try to use such "exploits," that are merely to justify yourselves and "for show," to deceive people who have eyes and ears and can judge these ridiculous measures for themselves.

Let us somehow describe the smuggling in the city of Tirana where the wheeler-dealers and thieves can be seen on every corner and in the market, trading food items from the basket [of staple goods whose prices remain frozen] at catastrophic prices. It is even worse when much of this is from humanitarian aid.

We are fed up with the reports and revelations of thefts and break-ins in countless stores and warehouses or the looting by groups of delinquents of considerable quantities of food and industrial products. Of course all of these articles are recorded in detail by the officials.

Are they not the articles that can be seen openly on the market? Are they not the shoes from our factories that are being sold at five or six times the price, soap at 10 times the price, and not to mention the aid items, with razors three or four times more expensive, cigarettes five or six times more, kitchen utensils and electrical appliances five or six times more, nails and locks 10 times more, dried fruit five times more, oil and sugar (from the basket) three or four times more, as well as cheese, vinegar, and salt 10-15 times more? Why is this allowed?! Why don't they confiscate the goods and prosecute the blood-suckers?! How long has the population, particularly in the countryside, gone without one kilogram of sugar, rice, and macaroni, a single liter of oil, or soap? In this anarchic retail speculation, the public order police and criminal police should be engaged as part of their duty—including the Financial Police.

There are many cases of villagers robbed of their produce by "tough guys."

Can the situation of this market of speculators be stabilized? Without doubt it can, but with the total involvement of all these forces, involving also the government authorities who allowed this anarchy of speculation. I wonder whether some of these authorities have the "lion's share" in these speculations?

This will be seen in their commitment to taking measures.

Tobacco, Macaroni Factories Resume Work

AU0206180592 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] The Prime Minister's Office reports that some enterprises in different districts of the country have resumed work. The Durres Tobacco Factory has already resumed work— as have nine macaroni factories nationwide—whose products are being sold at 5.50 leks per kilogram at a time when macaroni is being sold on the free market at 20 leks per kilogram. Canning and other factories have also resumed work.

Article Calls For Resumption of Work in Industry

AU0106094392 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 21 May 92 p 2

[Article by Lucie Doci: "We Love Life"]

[Text] We can feel the heavy burden of the day every morning when we take our first steps. There is the same worried conversation everywhere. Unemployment. Poverty. Hopes and disillusions. If you go to the market any time of the day, you will leave with a headache. It is not because of sunstroke, but because you feel the multiple burden of your poverty. You face the goods that you need badly for a simple life at home (I stress for a very simple life) and you are not able to buy anything. The prices are unattainable compared with the money you get for your work. Buyers approach the goods, ask the owner how much does it cost, and leave confused and muttering to themselves. You cannot bear seeing a child stopping before apples and his parent buys a single one for the child with a trembling hand. You would be disappointed by the observing eye of a six-year old child, who asks his parents: Are you drinking coffee again?, because he is afraid that sugar will run out. He has heard that a kilogram of sugar costs one dollar in the market and one dollar is bought at 100 leks, so his parents cannot afford this much money.

The reality is clear and bitter. There are only two ways: Either to fall on our knees before it and weep, or to call our inner spiritual force to enable us to live, because we all love life. Everyone of us has a clear mind (if anyone has a confused mind, let him clear it), a heart, and two hands that can work wonders. Only work will be our salvation, but we have stopped and are looking at foreigners' hands. Are we right? Yes and no. To what extent is right on our side, and to what extent is it against us?

Under this condition it is necessary to expect from the foreign world aid, credits, raw materials, technical assistance, and everything else that will help us return to life again. However, we would like these credits and aid to be such as to ensure that the people will resume work at a salary sufficient to make a living. Neither the worker, nor the civil servant can accept a salary that will only allow them to live at the edge of poverty any longer. This will be the basis of that economic, psychological, and spiritual turn, which cannot at present be fulfilled without help from foreigners. In this sense, we are right to look at their hands and ask what they have brought us. The right is with us so far.

Will the aid and credits flow to the extent we would like? We would help ourselves, if we were more realistic and understood that we cannot have all the world in hand. We have ourselves in hand. It is up to us to believe in the development of the democratic processes and work in places where we can work. What can we expect from the world when, as soon as work resumes, someone cuts off

the drive belts in a textile factory and production stops again? What can you expect when the roof of a village school is removed because people are angry with the teacher who continued lessons throughout the school year, or when a good deal of the land area has been left fallow? With such actions we turn against ourselves.

Thus work is delayed, but as consumers we are obliged to go out shopping. With every passing day we can clearly see that life has frozen. Only work and production will put us back on the track that will enable us to breathe.

Measures To Accelerate Land Privatization Viewed

AU0106101392 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 20 May 92 p 2

[Article by Genc Tirana: "Special Actions To Accelerate Land Privatization"]

[Text] The privatization of land started in a tense political situation, which had a negative impact on the application of the law by significantly slowing the process down. According to expectations and the task that was laid down, the land distribution should have been completed by last September. Only 70 percent of the land has been distributed so far and agricultural specialists have the opinion that it is very difficult to distribute the remainder.

The fact that a part of the peasants have taken land according to old borders indicates that there exists a disposition to act against the law. When the land distribution started, the press and other mass media made dozens of interpretations, although the Law on Land Distribution was issued and there was no equivocation in it. Under these conditions, a part of those who were assigned to apply the Law on Distribution of Agricultural Land and a part of the peasants remained passive, expecting that perhaps the law would change.

To alleviate this tense situation in agriculture, which affects our economy in all directions, the Central Land Commission was completely reorganized recently. This commission defined the measures that will be taken to avoid delay in applying this law. The authorities of this commission for intervening in cases in which the law is violated have so far been specifically defined. This commission will extend his activity to the commissions of those villages that have not yet started the land distribution. Representatives of the commissions will be accompanied by forces of order in order to punish everyone who violates the law.

The fulfillment of this reform is related to the short and long-term agrarian policy that the Ministry of Agriculture and Food is compiling in order to transform our agriculture into a modern sector through credits that have so far been offered. The first step of this ministry will be reassessing the Law on Land Distribution. The minister of agriculture and food, Rexhep Uka, said that the present law is still good. He added that it is necessary to make several amendments and supply it with some articles of a juridical and technical-juridical character.

One of the first problems that needs to be better defined by law is the right of ownership of former land owners. This is one of the key points of this problem and deserves careful assessment. The property is sacred and as such every case in which this fact is ignored will result in the blocking of the agricultural reform because of the conflicts that are thus incited.

The former owners, independently of whether they live in the countryside or city, will gain the right to obtain compensation at the level of a middle peasant. This solution through compensation does not allow the former land owners to return to their old land. All these factors constitute a very important issue that will be subject to careful study, Mr. Uka said. The prolongation of this study will be dependent on the Ministry of Agriculture and Food and we have taken measures to complete it expeditiously. We intend to distribute the remainder of the land within one month, despite the difficulties. The parliament will examine the issue of when we will begin to pay compensation.

The Law on Land Distribution needs to be completed with several juridical-technical articles that will more closely define the right to sell and buy the land, its criteria, land inheritance, etc. The correct definition of these matters will enable the farmer who takes a title deed today to have rights of land ownership that are in accordance with international standards. Thus, he will be able to buy and sell the land on the basis of bid and offer. This procedure will be limited to foreigners only, because the people are still psychologically unprepared for such a thing.

Farmers who take the land will be able to bequeath it, but according to strict regulations and specific features of our country. It is thought that the law will anticipate that the donor who bequeaths land will not have the right to divide it into small parcels. It is anticipated to apply the open field policy for areas of the plains, which means a prohibition on the construction of houses in the plain. Anyway, all these problems will be subject to discussion in parliament.

Haste in Democratization Process Criticized

AU0106100392 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 13 May 92 p 3

[Article by Neshat Tozaj: "Why Are We Hurrying?"]

[Excerpts] In order to complete the de jure victory of democracy in the 22 March elections, we should institutionalize it. Independently of political convictions and party memberships, everyone is aware that we are not in a transitory phase of the economic and social system, but have entered the phase of constructing a democratic state. Of course, in the struggle for democracy there are not only winners, but also losers. However, it should be

clear to everyone that the victory, which covers everything, even the defeats or small dramas of political rivals, is the victory of Albania. Everyone should understand this, especially the winners, whose victory should make them more broad-minded and encourage them to look ahead for the interests of the people and Albania. In the same way, the losers should not have paradoxical reactions, but should try to assume a new dimension and honestly integrate themselves into the new society.

When we say that the winners should be broad-minded, more tolerant, and improve themselves, I have in mind that they should avoid all feeling of revanchism and revenge, all sign of cynicism and impatience, and any statement that implies a new settling of accounts. Being independent of party interests and despite contributions and sympathies, I would avail myself of the opportunity to express some opinions that coincide with the title of this article. I want to stress that the substitution of one system for another cannot take place without transformations in all fields, the exchange of positions, clarifications etc. that are so necessary for opening the way to the creation of law-governed state in Albania. [passage omitted]

The bones unjustly buried in the National Martyrs' Cemetery were exhumed urgently and secretly. It is something that should be done. That is fine. Why is it done so quickly and secretly? Why were they all treated the same? Would it not have been better to have publicly announced the decision and given a worthy explanation with worthy arguments? Would it not have been a differentiation between the dictator and the others in executing this decision? There is no reason to hide my sympathy for honorable people such as Kahreman Ylli, Medar Shtylla, Josif Pashko, Nako Spiru, and somebody else, whose bones could be exhumed after giving some time to their families, a longer time to carry out this necessary act with a delicacy worthy of a democratic system.

Thus, we should not hurry. We have so much to do. The dismantling of a system created over nearly half a century is being carried out. We will do this with care, just like engineers, in order to have as few victims as possible and fewer people terrified by democracy. We will work in such a way that we attract as many people as possible in constructing the new democratic Albania through drawing on their resourceful energies and creating conditions for them to reflect upon. Man is a human being who can not only adapt himself, but continuously absorbs information. By working honestly and being transparent in our actions, the slogans "In opposition, but brothers" and "Albania of Albanians" will have their real meaning again and undoubtedly yield marvelous fruits of democracy.

Macedonian President Gligorov Arrives for Visit

AU0306130092 Tirana ATA in English 0818 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] Tirana, June 3 (ATA)—At the invitation of the President of the Republic of Albania Sali Berisha, the president of the Republic of Macedonia Kiro Gligorov arrived in our country on a visit on May 3. In his first visit to Albania, the Macedonian president is accompanied by the Vice Chairman of the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia Dr. Xheladin Murati, the Vice Chairman of the Government Mr. Jovan Andonov, the Minister of Foreign Affairs Prof. Dr. Denko Maleski as well as advisers, businessmen, reporters, etc.

Present to welcome the Macedonian president at the airport were the President of the Republic Sali Berisha; the vice premier and minister of agriculture and food, Rexhep Uka; the Minister of Foreign Affairs Alfred Serreqi; the General Secretary of the Presidency Kolec Topalli; and others.

The Macedonian President Gligorov, accompanied by the Albanian President Berisha, left the airport for Tirana.

Bilateral Relations Discussed

LD0306162292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1221 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] Ohrid, 3 Jun (TANJUG)—At the invitation of Albanian President Sali Berisha, Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov arrived in Tirana today on an official and friendly visit to Tirana. Gligorov is accompanied in the Albanian capital by Foreign Minister Danko Malevski; Dzevadin Murati, deputy assembly speaker, and Deputy Prime Minister Jovan Andonov.

Albanian radio reports that Sali Berisha and Kiro Gligorov met in the "Brigada" Palace and immediately began to discuss bilateral relations.

As was heralded prior to the visit, the key issue for the Macedonian side is Albanian recognition of Macedonia, something that the Albanian side regards, to some extent, as being conditional on "recognizing and honoring the rights of Albanians in Macedonia." President Berisha reiterated this two days ago in the course of his talks with Turkish Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel in Tirana.

During the day, Gligorov is also expected to meet representatives of the Macedonian community in Albania and in all probability Albanian Government Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi.

More on Cooperation Talks

AU0406095492 Tirana ATA in English 0800 GMT 4 Jun 92

[Text] Tirana, June 4 (ATA)—On June 3 at 1000, the President of the Republic Sali Berisha received at his seat the President of the Republic of Macedonia Mr. Kiro Gligorov and the persons accompanying him. President Berisha voiced his satisfaction over this visit, wished welcome to the guest, and said that our two countries have historically known how to find the common language, to help each other also in earlier

times when the democratic principles had not existed, with the exception of the neighbouring ones which have existed. Whereas today, there exist the principles of democracy which help our two countries approach even more with each other. I have followed with great interest the developments in your country and I am glad Macedonia knew to maintain equilibrium, but I want to ensure you that, even prior to the recognition of the other republics, I have insisted that the independent state of Macedonia is a premise for the stability in the Balkans.

Mr. Gligorov thanked President Berisha for the hospitality, voiced his satisfaction over his being in Tirana, and said that I have been looking forward to the elections results and when we learned that you won, we said that a leaf of the old history was turned over and this is a very significant event for the new Balkans, for the new cooperation we have today. Therefore I think that today's meeting will be one of those foundation stones for a new Balkans.

President Berisha said that we must try to create a democratic space to extend from the Adriatic to the Black Sea. He pointed also to the indispensability of a commitment for economic cooperation in all fields. Then Mr. Berisha dwelt on problems of the Albanian community residing in Macedonia. The Albanians in Macedonia must be a factor of stability for the Macedonian state. He demanded that the Albanians in Macedonia be recognised as state-forming elements and be integrated with full rights into the state of the Republic of Macedonia seeing also to the possibility of changing the Constitution, which must sanction equality with Albanian community rights. After speaking of the stand of the new democratic power of Albania towards the minorities, Mr. Berisha demanded that the Albanians in Macedonia should have vaster possibilities to get schooling in their mother tongue and that the broadcasts in the Albanian language to occupy a larger place in Macedonia's radio stations. President Berisha aired Albania's stand towards Kosovo, about which one should bear in mind that before Helsinki it has been a constitutive part of Yugoslavia and demanded Rugova's participation in the conference of negotiations on Yugoslavia.

President Gligorov said on his part that Macedonia is the homeland of all residing there. All the citizens must be equal and this is attained through tolerance and patience. The Macedonian people and the Albanian community will live together in full equality. One should have no doubt about this. Egnatia Street has not been built occasionally. It speaks of the ancient links between our two peoples. Socialism interrupted the normal courses, but you must rebuilt them.

Later he agreed on the problems of the Albanian community set forward by President Berisha, but, he said, the greater and free movement of the persons of both countries will be positive. Likewise they agreed that the question of lifting the visas for the Albanian and Macedonian citizens be studied as soon as possible. Whereas on the Kosovar problem he agreed with President Berisha and said that Yugoslav crisis cannot be solved without Kosovo. Kosovo should occupy the place it deserves.

At the end of the talks the two presidents, Berisha and Gligorov gave a press statement each.

People's Assembly Congratulates Rugova on Election

AU0206194292 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1730 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Greeting sent by the People's Assembly to Ibrahim Rugova, president of the Republic of Kosovo, on 1 June] [Text] It is a duty and honor for this assembly to greet you as the first president of the Republic of Kosovo. Through you, we congratulate the Albanian people of Kosovo and its leadership who arrived at the historic day of 24 May with wisdom and prudence. This event again highlighted the efforts and incomparable political will that you have shown on a European and world scale to spread awareness of the cause of Kosovo and to defend and reestablish the violated rights of the Albanians in former Yugoslavia.

Your election by the will of the people to the high post of president is a hopeful sign that this achievement will be carried forward until the Republic of Kosovo achieves full international recognition. We wish you success in the exercise of your important duties, health, and happiness.

Resolution Hails Results

AU0206194092 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1730 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Resolution of the People's Assembly addressed to the Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo, issued in Tirana on 1 June]

[Text] On the 24 May elections, the Assembly of the Republic of Albania expresses its fraternal congratulations and good wishes to the Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo. These elections further demonstrated the wisdom, prudence, and ancient civilization of the Albanian people—a people who, although martyred for decades under foreign rule, have been able to preserve their national and cultural identity and have beeen able to create a healthy spiritual and material Albanian culture.

The elections strongly demonstrated with the force of truth the desire of the people of Kosovo to decide their own destiny in a peaceful way, and proved once again the Albanians' legitimate rights in total conformity with international documents. In the eyes of the whole world, the Albanians of Kosovo, with their love of peace and moderation, stand out in strong contrast to the brutality of the weapons that are fired on innocent people in the Balkans and to the Milosevices and the primitive political circles of today's Serbs.

The Assembly of the Republic of Albania strongly supports the efforts and struggle of the people of Kosovo to achieve self-determination and to redress a historical injustice.

Three million Albanians living for centuries on end on their autochthonous territories in the former Yugoslav federation have the same rights to self-determination as the other peoples living in this former state.

The People's Assembly of the Republic of Albania reaffirms once again its recognition of the Republic of Kosovo as an independent and sovereign state, and welcomes the successful elections that have just taken place in Kosovo. The Republic of Kosovo is now an indisputable reality. It can no longer be wished away.

We call on the international community, the member-states of the CSCE and other international bodies, and other democratic governments and states to recognize the sovereignty and independence of the Republic of Kosovo and to help its legitimate representatives to take part in all activities that concern the destiny of the Albanian nation. The recognition of the Republic of Kosovo would be a valuable service to peace and stability in the Balkans.

The Assembly of the Republic of Albania once again offers heartfelt congratulations to the people of Kosovo and its leadership on the maturity and determination they demonstrated in the 24 May elections. It expresses the conviction that, at this historic moment, Albanians wherever they are will be ready to unite as one in order to advance shoulder to shoulder with patriotism, vigilance, culture, and a love of peace toward a better future in the interests of our national cause.

Berisha Receives Romanian Culture Minister

AU3005130092 Tirana ATA in English 0800 GMT 30 May 92

[Text] Tirana, May 30 (ATA)—On May 29, Sali Berisha, president of the Republic received the Romanian minister of culture, Mr. Ludovic Spiess. They talked on the relations and traditional friendship between our two peoples and pointed to the determination of both parties to expand these relations in the fields of art and culture and concretely by means of exchanging folkloric groups, exhibitions, restorers' training courses.

On his part, President Berisha, dwelling on the current foreign policy of our country, said that we are for good relations with Europe and America, but in the first place we want to have good relations with our neighbours.

Austria To Expand Economic Trade Relations

AU3005160692 Tirana ATA in English 0925 GMT 29 May 92

[Text] Tirana, May 29 (ATA)— The newspaper RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE carries an interview with the ambassador of Austria in Albania, Mr. Kurt Spallinger, who stressed among others that since Albania embarked on democratic processes and particularly after being accepted CSCE member, in Austria immediately extended the range of contacts. [sentence as received]

Austria as EFTA member (free trade zone) has used its influence to help Albania in its endeavours to recover the economy, Mr. Spallinger said. Austria will also create to Albania special conditions for a free entry in the Austrian market. It has invited other countries too to grant Albania a favourable status in trade. Possibilities are being studied to grant Albania an economic aid from EFTA.

The situation in Yugoslavia does not influence in the investments in Albania, Ambassador Spallinger pointed out. Foreign companies are not afraid of the situation in Albania's borders, but of the country's economic ruin. For this it is important that some laws be changed and the country's economic structure.

Berisha, Helsinki Group's Nagler Discuss Press

AU0306125792 Tirana ATA in English 0837 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] Tirana, June 3 (ATA)—President Berisha received the delegation of the International Federation of Helsinki headed by its Secretary General Mr. Gerold Nagler who showed interest in the functioning of the apparatus of justice and development of a free press. He offered assistance in both fields through experts and seminars as well as consultations for drafting a modern law on the press.

For his part Mr. Berisha briefed the delegation on the restructuring of the juridical organs and the profound changes taking place in these organs. We will welcome every aid to modernize these organs. Regarding the press, he said that he was for a free and independent press, but he regretted that currently there are abuses regarding the freedom of press so greatly longed at a time when the law is not yet adopted, by spreading slanders and inaccurate news. Therefore, judicial assistance of Helsinki Federation for drafting a law on the press was very necessary. The new government closed down only the newspaper of police ALBAPOL, because in principle we are against the government press. We think that there is no reason for the president, the government, and police to have their press. They should be transparent and the press must criticize or praise them according to the work they do. The members of the delegation said that you have acted correctly and your arguments are well grounded in this case.

Relations Established With United Arab Emirates

AU0206124092 Tirana ATA in English 1033 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Tirana, June 2 (ATA)—Proceeding from their joint desire to conduct friendly relations and cooperation between their two countries, the Government of the Republic of Albania and the Government of the Arab United Emirates decided to establish diplomatic relations between their countries at ambassadorial level, beginning with June 1 1992.

Zhelev Meets With Former King Simeon in Madrid

AU0306131492 Sofia BTA in English
2116 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Sofia, June 2 (BTA)—Late this evening the BULGARIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY received part of the authentic transcript of the meeting in Madrid between Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, president of the Republic of Bulgaria, and King Simeon II who lives in exile in Madrid, held on May 26.

According to the text, over coffee, Dr. Zhelev and Simeon II said that unnecessary tension had been created about their meeting and some journalists described it, as Dr. Zhelev said, almost like a collision between two galaxies. However, they agreed that "Bulgaria is what really matters" and this unites them.

During the meeting, Simeon II and Dr. Zhelev described Bulgarians as industrious, thrifty people who can overcome any difficulty and who worked wonders after the liberation from Ottoman domination (1878) within two or three decades.

Then President Zhelev and King Simeon discussed the economic legislation passed by the National Assembly. Dr. Zhelev assessed the Foreign Investment Act as the most liberal in Eastern Europe. King Simeon expressed his admiration for this act and said he had been showing it "on paper" to West European economists interested in it.

The interlocutors expressed their concern about the bloodshed in the former Yugoslavia and Dr. Zhelev repeated his statement about military intervention by NATO in it, which he first made a year ago.

As to Macedonia, President Zhelev reiterated Bulgaria's position: This country does not recognize a Macedonian nation or at least it does not commit itself to this. In his turn, King Simeon II said this was "very good."

Notes 'Unnecessary Tension'

AU0306185292 Sofia BTA in English
1608 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] Sofia, June 3 (BTA)—The first part of the transcript of the meeting between President Zhelyu Zhelev and King Simeon II, who lives in exile in Madrid, was received late last night at the Bulgarian News Agency from the President's Office.

They met on May 26 at the Ritz in Madrid. Their tete-a-tete meeting continued over an hour and was recorded by four tape recorders at Dr. Zhelev's request.

The initiative for the meeting came from Simeon II, spokesman for the president Valentin Stoyanov said late last week on National Television.

"I believe unnecessary tension was created about this meeting," Dr. Zhelev said at the beginning of the meeting. "We will not be plotting, we will simply talk," Simeon II answered. "It is good that we are meeting just like this: No sensations, nothing special, just two Bulgarians meet," Simeon II added. During the meeting he addressed Dr. Zhelev as "Mr. President."

"Bulgaria is what really matters and this unites us," Simeon II said and Dr. Zhelev agreed. It is important to work for Bulgaria to the best of one's ability because we are going through a rather complicated period, Dr. Zhelev added.

The interlocutors said it is essential for Bulgaria to remain calm so that the world could regain its confidence in it.

Dr. Zhelev said that the Bulgarian Parliament has already passed the whole package of economic acts and that the Bulgarian Foreign Investment Act is the most liberal in Eastern Europe. Simeon II agreed with him.

The Bulgarian president expressed his hope that "If everything is normal, the land will actually be returned to its owners by the year's end." According to him, 90 per cent of the rightful owners will apply for their land by June 4, the deadline for filing applications. "This is a revolution," the president said. "This is a really important thing. Of course, it is always difficult because there are people who have obtained it (their land) legally, they have not taken it forcibly and now that it will be expropriated there will be some problems. The point is that the majority will be happy about it," Simeon II said.

Both Dr. Zhelev and Simeon II assessed the beginning of privatization as important.

Dr. Zhelev expressed concern over the situation in the Balkans. He recalled that already a year ago he declared himself for a military intervention of NATO in Yugoslavia, to which the Socialists reacted strongly. President Zhelev expressed his regret that no agreement was reached in the European Community then on a possible intervention in Yugoslavia. "The Germans played a somewhat peculiar role there," Simeon II said. And according to the Bulgarian president "France was a little frightened by this prospect." It seems that it a military intervention has to take place now, though so late, after so many people were killed, Dr. Zhelev said. According to him, there is a grave threat "of the fire spreading to Kosovo and then to Macedonia... And if Macedonia flares up this means that they involve us as well as Greece and Albania," the president pointed out.

Simeon asked Dr. Zhelev about Bulgaria's stand on Macedonia. There is a paradox in the attitude of the three states Bulgaria, Greece and Serbia to Macedonia. Bulgaria recognizes the statehood of Macedonia and its state sovereignty but does not recognize the Macedonian nation, or at least we do not commit ourselves to this, the president explained. Simeon II assessed this stand positively.

Discussion on Foreign Relations

AU0406093992 Sofia BTA in English 1921 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] Sofia, June 3 (BTA)—President Zhelev expressed his idea that Bulgaria should become a full member of NATO because the country had a special geographical location at the very heart of the Balkans, and together with Turkey and Greece, both NATO members, it could turn into a stabilizing factor in the region. "We have good reasons for that, better than Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary, which also seek NATO membership," Dr. Zhelev said. King Simeon II approved of this idea, saying that "the more we are integrated with different international organizations, the less possibilities of considerable vacillations... since we will be framed with others and would have to behave ourselves."

Dr. Zhelev voiced his concern over Europe's helplessness to stop the bloodshed on ethnic, religious and other basis within the boundaries of a country like Yugoslavia. This is not the only endangered country, the sides agreed. Similar conflicts face the new republics of the former Soviet Union and could possibly erupt in Czechoslovakia as crumbling communism there stakes on nationalism, Dr. Zhelev believed.

Developments in Moldova and the Dniester River area are also very dangerous, President Zhelev said, recalling the nearly 200,000 ethnic Bulgarians settled in this region. Between 5,000 and 6,000 Bulgarians live in the entire Soviet Union, he said. Following King Simeon's surprise at this fact, Mr. Zhelev explained that back last century, during the years of the Russo-Turkish wars, many Bulgarians fled to that country and their descendants still live there today. "Nationalism is the Communists' last stronghold. It's their only chance. Even in Bulgaria, realizing they were losing ground, the Communists tried to provoke tensions with the ethnic Turks."

Discussing the Bulgarian reforms, the two sides expressed their view that Bulgaria does not need a law on decommunization. The very structures upon which the communist nomenklatura parasitizes should be dismantled and this is already being done in the field of agriculture with the liquidation of the former cooperative farms, Dr. Zhelev said. King Simeon II added that such laws remind of previous "much more unpleasant systems."

In the course of the conversation, Simeon II inquired about President Zhelev's attitude towards Russia: "I am no Russophile. I respect this neighbour, who gave us our geography and history... and I am kind of worried at a certain...overenthusiasm for the States." "We stand nothing to gain from cooling our relations with Russia," Dr. Zhelev replied. "There are grounds for concern since some political leaders in Bulgaria are almost innately allergic to the Soviet Union and allergy could be a dangerous thing in politics."

The opportunities for foreign investments in Bulgaria, corruption of the administration inherited from the totalitarian system, the negotiations on Bulgaria's association with the European Community were among the issues discussed by President Zhelev and King Simeon II at their meeting in Madrid on May 26.

Zhelev Meeting With Former King Criticized

AU0306121392 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 27 May 92 p 8

[Krasimir Tomov commentary: "Madrid Hotel Becomes Part of Bulgarian History"]

[Text] We have no reason to believe that President Zhelev's decision to meet Simeon Coburg-Gotha was influenced by the former king's interview in DUMA. Our newspaper has carried more sensible and useful thoughts, which have been ignored by the president.

We have no reason to believe that the Bulgarian president has changed his views and has become a monarchist. Indeed, that was confirmed immediately after the meeting by Mr. Coburg-Gotha in a statement for the press.

We also have no reason to doubt Mr. Zhelev's claim that he is a man of democratic views and that he would meet and talk to anyone interested in meeting him and talking to him. However, Mr. Zhelev is one aspect, and the president of the Republic is something completely different.

If we could invoke the Roman saying: What the ox may do, Jupiter may not.

The fact that Bulgaria's state system has not been discussed at the Ritz Hotel and that the former king has stated that "now is not a suitable moment" for his return to Bulgaria, means nothing. It also means nothing that two Bulgarians have met abroad and have talked about the motherland. Both men are sufficiently experienced in political matters. Thus, they hardly sound convincing when they spread such tales for small children.

What Mr. Simeon Coburg-Gotha wants is clear. A royal press center, as well as a Royal Touring Club in Sofia, a royal chancery, something that resembles a government in exile in Madrid, and the stubborn refusal on the part of the dethroned king to recognize the people's vote in the 1946 referendum are facts understood even by mediocre intellects.

However, what the Bulgarian president wants from such a meeting is something that could create difficulties even for those who are not well-versed in the native political reality.

Nevertheless, there is something common in the destiny of the two Ritz Hotel interlocutors, namely, their loneliness.

It is amazing how rapidly Zhelyu Zhelev, who until two years ago was a unique symbol of the striving of a large part of the nation toward democracy, found himself in almost total political isolation. It is strange how a character that withstood the blows and temptations of the totalitarian regime broke down under the weight and complexity of power. It is sad that rather than becoming a statesman, a respected man became a dabbler in politics.

Only two months ago Zhelev and Coburg-Gotha exchanged rather unpleasant words on the pages of Bulgarian and Spanish newspapers. Until only about two months ago, the Bulgarian president spoke about the former king only as "that man in Madrid." What happened in the meantime?

One knows about the meetings of Stefan Savov [National Assembly leader] and Ahmed Dogan [Movement for Rights and Freedoms chairman] with the former king. This was neither the first nor the last blow against the presidential institution. Zhelev's indecisiveness, intrigues with the radical right wing within the Union of Democratic Forces, and the compromises and concessions in accepting and conducting obviously undemocratic and politically and economically unfounded decisions by the legislative, executive, and judicial powers (which have almost merged), turned him into a hostage.

It is a paradox that the person with the highest political office in the country actually behaves like a monastery novice of the strange physicist with a cassock and a usurped intellectual title. This started even before the elections, as one recalls.

Mr. Zhelev called his meeting in Madrid an historical one. In a certain sense of the word, it was an historical meeting—we could not find such a precedent in European history. The Ritz Hotel in Madrid became part of our history. In the past, the beginning of that dynasty was connected with a night club in Vienna....

We could find ourselves in a country with two heads of state—a king and a president, who under the wise leadership of cynical grafters dressed in turquoise togas will lead us toward the bright future.

Prime Minister Discusses Nethlerlands Visit

AU0306184592 Sofia BTA in English 1622 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Panayot Denev report]

[Text] Sofia, June 3 (BTA)—According to Bulgarian Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov, the Netherlands is a country of great importance for Europe with its participation in the European economic processes and the high personal prestige of its policy-makers. Today, on returning from his official working visit to the Netherlands, Bulgaria's prime minister reminded that the Dutch politicians often occupy and will occupy key positions in the European and North Atlantic structures. "From this point of view it really does matter that those people are interested in Bulgaria's problems and are willing to commit themselves to them," the prime minister said.

It is also significant that yesterday Her Majesty Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands received the leader of the Bulgarian Government extremely well informed about the course of the changes in Bulgaria and its actual political and economic situation. It is also significant that the members of the Foreign Policy Committees of the two chambers of the Dutch States-General showed particular interest in all specific aspects of Bulgarian affairs. At the same time the prime minister and the delegation accompanying him had the feeling that the Dutch politicians and businessmen were not used to expect their Bulgarian partners to be efficient - a legacy from the recent past when the contacts between the two countries were far from being rare but it seems that for the Bulgarian side these were only pleasure trips to a beautiful country.

The Dutch are extremely rich, practical and prudent. Before starting negotiations on the realization of specific projects for Dutch investment in Bulgaria's economy, they want to receive detailed information on the course of the reform in this country that would be up to their standards. That is why the talks in The Hague were confined to the exploratory stage. As participants in various programmes, the Dutch are investing and will continue to invest funds for the precise evaluation of Bulgaria's potential in the field of scientific research and its different industries. In this sense all talks opened by showing interest in the political situation in Bulgaria and its stability prospects, for which this country has already gained prestige both in the Netherlands and the European community. Then its was proceeded with a comprehensive exchange of information on the economic situation. [sentence as received] Agriculture, small and medium-size enterprises, the food processing industry, transport, the cement industry and tourism are the fields of especially intensive Bulgarian-Dutch contacts in the coming months. The agrarian reform and the start of privatization will be followed with special interest. Then, in October this year, Ms. Yvon Van Roy, secretary of state in charge of foreign trade at the Dutch Ministry of Economic Affairs, is expected to come to Bulgaria to finalize the specific agreements.

The tragic escalation of the conflict in former Yugoslavia was naturally high on the agenda at the bilateral government consultations in The Hague and at all other meetings. Mr. Filip Dimitrov set out several times Bulgaria's principled position. The Bulgarian Government insists on the implementation of efficient measures which will stop the bloodshed in Yugoslavia and considers that every country should take the respective responsibility in carrying out its foreign political activity.

"In view of the present situation in the Balkans it would better both for the region and Europe if the international institutions assume a clearer commitment to what is

happening and what the Balkan countries are expected to do," the prime minister said at the airport of Sofia today. "Of course, we will support the decisions of the international institutions and the sanctions against Belgrade, but at the same time we have ground to fear that the sanctions can prove to be less efficient than expected. We have pointed out repeatedly that to stop the bloodshed it is necessary to give the countries which emerged in the place of former Yugoslavia the possibility of really protecting themselves, which means they should be recognized. If the sanctions turn out to be inefficient, a form of armed intervention may be necessary. Without finding an efficient form of control, the sanctions may not yield any result," Mr. Dimitrov said.

Last night NRC HANDELSBLAD, the most prestigious Dutch evening paper, published an extensive interview with Mr. Filip Dimitrov citing the prime minister in its headline: "Only Hungary is ahead of us" and elaborating on the course of the Bulgarian reform.

SDS Popularity Drop 'Political Manipulation'

AU0206200092 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 27 May 92 p 1

[Rumyana Mikhova article: "The Data of National Public Opinion Center Is Political Manipulation"]

[Text] The data of the National Political Opinion Center is a political manipulation. The results of the recent sociological poll conducted by a team led by Prof. Venedikov, are completely different. It appears that if elections were held now, some 37 percent of the Bulgarian voters would vote for the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]; 32 percent—for the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]; and 6-7 percent for the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS]. The dominating influence of the blue [SDS] coalition is obvious. In addition, it must be pointed out that Prof. Venedikov's poll is representative of the entire country, and it encompasses all population strata. The poll was conducted in March, and the results were presented at the 26 May meeting of the SDS Coordinating Council, at which the present political situation was analyzed in detail.

Prof. Venedikov's poll produced an alarming result—broad masses of the Bulgarian population (54 percent) still preserve a purely communist attitude toward the state, namely viewing it as a "protector"—it provides the people with jobs, wages, and social benefits. The elimination of such a manner of thinking is the basic task of the sociopsychological strategy of all democratic forces in the country, Yordan Vasilev said at a briefing at the SDS headquarters. He pointed out that no normal state, regardless of how rich it is, could commit itself to such activities.

Regarding the strategic data presented by Prof. Venedikov and the discussion that followed it the SDS Coordinating Council decided to organized in the near future a SDS theoretical conference on Bulgaria's political and economic realities. The date and procedure of the conference are to be determined.

The 26 May meeting of the SDS Coordinating Council ended in a constructive manner. Lyubomir Pavlov, hitherto chairman of the DEMOKRATSIYA Publishing Syndicate Administrative Council, read a declaration on the collective resignation of the Administrative Board. There was no objection to the resignation.

SDS Demands Politicians' Police Files Opened

AU0206202192 Sofia BTA in English 1955 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Sofia, June 2 (BTA)—The ruling Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) today insisted that the politicians' police files be declassified.

A meeting of the SDS National Coordinating Council, the supreme leadership of the coalition, unanimously approved a declaration requiring the parliamentary group of the SDS to propose urgent legislative measures for the declassification of the police files of leaders of political parties, senior state officials, MP's of the present and the previous parliament, trade union leaders, leaders of public organizations and journalists. The declaration says that all Bulgarian citizens should be given access to their police files.

Two versions of a Bill on the Declassification of Police Files have been submitted to parliament so far.

At a regular news conference today SDS spokesman Mikhail Nedelchev admitted that today's radical decision about the police files was provoked partly by a statement of National Assembly Chairman Stefan Savov, chairman of the Democratic Party, who said yesterday that until the summer recess (i.e. the end of July) parliament should not waste valuable time debating a Bill on Police Files.

Asked by the BTA what percentage of police informers among the MP's might cause parliament to break up, SDS deputy chairman Aleksandur Yordanov said rhetorically: "Woe to the country whose parliament would disband itself because of the large number of Secret Service employees and informers in it." He added that the present parliament has not be elected by the majority system and those implicated in collaboration with the Secret Services can be replaced by people on the election lists of the SDS. Aleksandur Yordanov believes that the number of people involved in collaboration with the Bulgarian Secret Services is commensurable with the number of informers exposed in Czecho-Slovakia.

In April the National Conference of the SDS adopted a recommendation to the parliamentary SDS for the urgent passage of an act on the declassification of police files. Today's declaration of the SDS has been prompted by moral considerations as well as by the resolution of the conference.

There was a special inquiry commission on police files in the Socialist-dominated Grand National Assembly. In April 1991 the FAKS newspaper published a list of informers of the Political Police. After heated debates the Grand National Assembly adopted a resolution which "buried" police files, declaring the act of making public names and facts connected with the Secret Services punishable.

Meanwhile, a late closed-door meeting of the parliamentary SDS was held. The question about the declassification of police files of MP's, cabinet ministers and other senior officials is complicated and should not be introduced for plenary debates before the passage of social legislation, National Assembly Chairman Stefan Savov said at the meeting. According to Lyubomir Sobadzhiev, leader of the Civil Initiative Movement within the SDS, the MP's will probably support Mr. Savov's position, regardless of today's declaration of the SDS Coordinating Council.

Later on Mr. Lyubomir Pavlov MP of the SDS, who is among the authors of one of the bills on police files, told journalists that after the discussion on police files a common position was reached. The two bills submitted to parliament and a third one which is being drafted by Edvin Sugarev should be specified and motivated, only then they will be submitted for plenary debates. The National Security Committee should also discuss them and take a stand. This means that the decision about police files will be postponed for an indefinite time.

'Intoxication With Power' SDS' 'Weakest Link'

AU0306095992 Sofia FAKS in Bulgarian No. 39, 25 May 92 pp 1,2

[Article by Aleksandur Lilov: "Intoxication With Power Is The Union of Democratic Forces' Weakest Link"]

[Text] The Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] has already consolidated its power. The coalition is aware of its growing political strength. The presidency, the parliament, the government, and the legal bodies are all in the hands of the SDS. The SDS is totally aware of its own strength, and it has the will, and I would even say the resolve, to use its power. This should not be underestimated. The SDS has decided to act and is perfectly capable of acting. It knows how to use its power and intends to do so.

The SDS survived, it did not dissolve, and its multiparty nature did not prevent the coalition from strengthening the discipline of its ranks and from safeguarding its uniform policy. The main objective of this policy is de-communization. Anti-communism is what holds the SDS together. The reach for power rallies its forces. A new formula was developed under the name of movement and coalition, despite the fact that the SDS does not possess the exclusive right to this formula. You know who the author of the formula is and I do not consider it a desirable historical experience. As a matter of fact, I do not envy the SDS and its future. Nevertheless, the SDS successes in this context so far show that we should not expect the party to promptly and chaotically disintegrate. It would be faulty political analysis to do so.

I am convinced that the weakest link of the SDS is its intoxication with power, the self-delusion of the leaders that they are capable of anything, their excessive confidence in their everlasting power, and their attitude that everything is allowed and that everything depends on them. This attitude has been expressed vigorously, and it is a very dangerous trend for the SDS. The SDS is already showing unpleasant signs of being a nasty regime, and we can expect this trend to intensify. At the recent SDS conference, we witnessed the first manifestations of a third force which is striving for its share of power and which possesses sufficient strength in its resolute progress, while exerting a considerable amount of pressure.

The SDS lost its image of a democratic force, which attracted so many people, especially from the intelligentsia and youth. There is even more: It became evident that the SDS is affected by a degeneration of power such as the one we already experienced in our country. I think that some of the SDS leaders are already aware of this. It is my opinion that the SDS continues to suffer from the lack of two very important assets which every political force requires, namely: It has no seriously conceived political program, let alone a strong and positive political concept, and it lacks a strong political leader.

What kind of general conclusions could be drawn in this respect?

The first, in my view, is that a drastic shift to the extreme right is currently in process. In addition, a sharp confrontational turn in SDS policy is directed against the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], and other democratic forces as well. It would not be exaggerating to say that this turn is also directed against the democratization process in Bulgaria. This is a very controversial statement, but I consider it correct. In my opinion, the current SDS political philosophy cannot be considered as beneficial to Bulgarian democratization. The real definition of the SDS political concept today is restoration, namely political restoration, and the restoration of the 1940s, at that. This trend could be even more accurately described as a trend of political, economic, and social revanchism. I am convinced that Bulgaria is undergoing a period of restoration with all its predictable consequences.

The second conclusion which I would like to submit is the fact that the SDS is currently taking a second turn, which is not only political, but also affects the social and economic spheres. Today, we can very clearly see that the SDS is deviating considerably from its election commitments and platform. We all remember that the SDS won the elections by assuming very serious social commitments. I do not intend to repeat them, but they affected all sectors of this country, which was led to the

brink of disaster by the Communists: namely the economic and social sectors, pensions, unemployment, education, and all sorts of other issues. Today, however, preference is given to a liberal type of reform, liberal models, and liberal policy. This is the great problem. It begins with the alternative between Europe and America, and ends with the question of either stimulating production or pursuing monetary reform. I am convinced that this change, precisely, is the prevailing trend within the SDS. Should the SDS pursue this trend, the country's decline would be inevitable.

The third conclusion: I am convinced that the repressive nature of the "dark blue" [SDS extreme rightwing forces] regime is intensifying. The SDS policy is hardening and escalating toward extremism. Political distrust, insinuations, extraordinary legislation, confiscations, and all sorts of blows under the belt directed against the BSP and other democratic forces, increasing hostility, and so forth, are evident. All this is aimed at creating a psychosis of fear in the country's social atmosphere, and it already exists. This, precisely, is the political essence of the SDS policy. We should not delude ourselves that this trend is selective, that it is directed only against the BSP. As a matter of fact, the current split between the democratic and leftist forces is a great misfortune for us. It has always been a misfortune, but under the circumstances of the decisive transition underway in our country, I cannot understand how this split can persist.

The fourth conclusion: I am convinced that the power struggle is intensifying within the SDS. It is a struggle for power by parties and leaders. Certain parties within the SDS behave like sharks while others are nothing but phantoms—they have no more members than leaders. Naturally, they found their formula, as I already mentioned, calling their alliance a coalition and a movement, but I do not know how long such a formula based on "and - and" and such dialectics can develop because the political spectrum is so large. The SDS is trying to cover the entire political spectrum, failing to see that this is precisely the danger likely to cause its disintegration. A single political force is incapable of covering the entire political spectrum of a country. This is what we were trying to do in the recent past, and we are now paying the price for it. There can be no democracy in a country where such trends prevail. In addition to this, it is still unclear what the "blue" idea is supposed to represent. As long as it is anti-communist and strives for decommunization, everything is clear. An idea cannot be restricted to negation, however. An idea becomes an idea when it explains to the world what it is trying to do for the implementation of its ideals and for society, which means for Bulgaria in this particular case. Nevertheless, besides negation, I do not see anything else in the SDS philosophy. Hence, the "blue idea" exists as a negation and there is no awareness of building up a society or a state.

The question of the SDS leader is particularly topical, I would even say crucial. The SDS has no recognized, authoritative leader. I think that this is clear. Podkrepa has such a leader, but the SDS does not. A secret but rather fierce leadership struggles with numerous blows below the belt is underway. The SDS people, generally speaking, are masters of this kind of infighting. They learned it very quickly. Presumably, they learned it at the school which most of them attended. Despite the fact that they are very active fighters against totalitarianism today, they were missing at the time when some other people at least dared to say a word or two. Therefore, the SDS conference brought the wrestlers out in the arena but the match was not finished. My assessment is perfectly clear: I am convinced that none of them is strong enough and sufficiently trained to become the undisputed leader of the SDS. Therefore, I think that the infighting is likely to continue. I even submit that some new participants may emerge.

Nevertheless, it is not unimportant who is going to win—whether he be a moderate, extremist, democrat, republican, or even monarchist. You can see how loudly some people shout in parliament. Why is it so, why is Mr. Yordanov so noisy? Why does he have such a loud and offensive voice? Why is he so viciously attacking other people? Well, it is understandable, that the man must assert himself as a fighter against the gangster party in this country, as he is gracious enough to express himself lately. Evidently, he has not yet collected all the fees for his performance.

I am convinced that that numerous internal conflicts are accumulating within the SDS which sometimes threaten to tear it apart, such as the republic or monarchy dilemma. The SDS has not answered the Bulgarian people on this question. Which form of government does the SDS prefer, what is the preference of its leaders—are they republicans or monarchists? This is a serious question and it is likely to divide the SDS. It produces contradictions and it is likely to exacerbate the atmosphere. Especially under the circumstances of a permanent lack of national consensus and permanent decline, this controversial subject, this simmering tension, is likely to persist.

The alliance between the SDS and the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS] is a very weak link for the SDS on domestic policy. I would even say that it is the Achilles heel of the SDS. This is because the SDS depends on the DPS—that is the naked truth. No matter how they try to distort and deny it, they cannot hide it. The existence of the SDS totally depends on the support or non-support of the DPS. This is natural. Turkey approves this situation. The majority of Bulgarian citizens are very seriously concerned about this alliance, let alone our other neighbors. Is it not likely that the DPS may one day raise the price of the alliance, that it would ask for a higher price? Mr. Dogan's Madrid visit showed that this is quite likely, that he has his own interests and reserve moves, despite the fact that the Madrid move was not a very strong one, in my view. Generally speaking, if we should mention Mr. Dogan's weak spots, particularly as regards his performance on the Bulgarian political scene, it is that he is building up his policy on

the sharp confrontation between the BSP and the SDS, on the sharp political confrontation between the major political forces prevailing in our country. Nevertheless, this cannot go on forever. Bulgaria's political fever is not likely to last for ever.

Swiss Debt Rescheduled; Former Official Detained

AU0406075392 Sofia BTA in English 2016 GMT 3 Jun 92

["Today"—BTA headline]

[Excerpt] Sofia, June 3 (BTA)—[passage omitted] A Bulgarian-Swiss intergovernment agreement on the rescheduling of Bulgaria's foreign debt with this country was signed in Bern today. The Bulgarian delegation was led by Minister of Finance Mr. Ivan Kostov.

The National Assembly Committee on Culture considered the application filed by the Bulgarian Satellite Television Initiative Association, asking for the committee's assistance in the opening of a Bulgarian satellite television company. The Committee on Culture approved the idea in principle but its final decision will be formulated after consultations with the National Assembly Committee on Radio and Television.

The 80-year-old Mircho Spasov, former deputy minister of internal affairs (from 1959 to 1962), was indicted by the Military Prosecutor's Office on the case concerning the communist concentration camps. He is charged of being responsible for the creation of the camp near Lovech (northeastern Bulgaria). Mircho Spasov is detained under house arrest. [passage omitted]

No unification as proclaimed by the leaderships of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (Unified) and the Nikola Petkov Agrarian Party is possible, Mr. Lyuben Bozhilov of the Centre for the Unification of the Agrarian Movement told the press today. According to him, the unification would be done under pressure on the part of the Agrarian Party members and not by the abovementioned parties.

"I fully support the idea that the unification of the Agrarian Parties should begin on the level of local organizations. This would be a democratic process. A unification which has started from the top would be more sensational but would never last long," the secretary general of the Nikola Petkov Agrarian Party, Mrs. Anastasiya Dimitrova-Moser, told a press conference in Ruse today. She emphasized that the unification should be completed very shortly because Bulgaria needs a real centrist organization, which could be able to achieve new things for the country's democracy.

Media Reports on General Election Campaign

CD0306130992

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on the campaign for the 5-6 June CSFR general elections monitored by FBIS London Bureau from the following sources: Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network (CSFR radio), Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network (Czech radio), Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network (Slovak radio), Prague Federal 1 Television Network (CSFR TV), Prague CSTK, and Budapest Kossuth Radio Network (Hungarian Radio).

Hungarian Radio Accuses Slovak Press of Disinformation

Correspondent Peter Nyaradi reports from Prague during a Hungarian radio broadcast in Hungarian at 1000 GMT on 2 June on Slovak press comments on Hungary's alleged influence on voters, saying: "For example, today's edition of the NARODNA OBRODA daily—obviously not by accident or error—tries to startle its readers by saying that ethnic Slovaks in Hungary are not more self- conscious because the Hungarian Government does not make mother-tongue teaching and the fostering of their own culture possible for them. As one who used to attend schools where Slovak was the medium of teaching, I would be forced to describe this as a lie, to put it mildly. However, one realizes that everything is permitted during an election, even, for example, writing that the ethnic Hungarians in southern Slovakia are disgusted by the thought of Slovak independence, which is what today's edition of Pozsony's KORIDOR daily alleges. According to the paper, this is why a curious situation could emerge after the elections in which southern Slovakia would remain a fortress for the Federal state system."

SKDH Ministers Boycott Government Session

"There are four empty chairs at today's Slovak Government session. Ministers-members of the Slovak Christian Democratic Movement are missing: Viliam Oberhauser, Jozef Krsek, Jozef Belcak, and Ivan Tirpak. The reason: government practices in approving privatization projects," reports Slovak radio in Slovak at 1000 GMT on 2 June.

Slovak Communists Stress Need for Coalition

"Bratislava—To think it is within the power of a single party or movement to pull Slovakia out of its current crisis is 'a profound mistake', Slovak parliament presidium member for the Democratic Left Party (SDL), Milan Ftacnik, today told a press conference," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 1309 GMT on 2 June. " 'Slovakia needs a reasonable agreement, a sober approach and experts. This is why we are again proposing an agreement', he added. According to Ftacnik, there have so far been no official consultations concerning SDL's cooperation with other political forces after the elections. Whether the SDL will work with the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) depends on which line will triumph in the HZDS after the elections—'national or even nationalist' or 'democratic and socially oriented', he said."

Social Democrats Determine Possible Coaliton Partners

"Prague—Chairman of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party (CSSD) Jiri Horak today told a press conference the CSSD considers its main coalition partners in forming the Federal Government after this week's parliamentary elections to be the Slovak Social Democratic Party (SSDS), the Liberal Social Union (LSU), the Movement for Self-Governing Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia (HSD-SMS) and, perhaps, the Civic Movement (OH)," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 1309 GMT on 2 June. "In forming the next Czech Government, the CSSD intends to enter a coalition also with the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL), he added. In view of public opinion poll results, Horak thinks the right will not win in the Czech lands. He said the CSSD is not considering Richard Sacher as a candidate for president (the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia candidate), hinting that his Party will support Vaclav Havel. CSSD representatives said that Czechoslovak television in its coverage of the June 5-6 elections is violating principles of journalistic ethics and probably also the law."

Social Democrats Expect Less Support in North Moravia, Silesia

"Ostrava—The Czechoslovak Social Democrats (CSSD) do not have as much support in north Moravia and Silesia as expected due to the region's industrial character, CSSD election leader for north Moravia Pavel Dostal said today," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 1309 GMT on 2 June. "He told journalists that in his view, most popular in north Moravia is the Left Bloc (coalition of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia, KSCM and the Democratic Left) and the assembly for the Republic— Czechoslovak Republican Party (SPR-RSC). Criticising the television and radio campaign before the elections, Dostal said he considers the coverage by right-oriented dailies objective."

Three Democratic Left Candidates Former Secret Police Agents

"Bratislava—The Democratic Left Party (SDL) has so far been informed that three of the candidates on its slate were registered as STB (former secret police) collaborators in categories other than candidate for cooperation, an SDL statement signed by its Deputy Chairman Dusan Dorotin said," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 1309 GMT on 2 June.

Liberal Social Union Seeks Center-Left Win

"Prague—The election victory of centre and centre-left parties will result in the reinforcement of democracy,

acceleration of economic reforms and transition to well-being, Liberal Social Union (LSU) Chairman Frantisek Trnka told a press conference today," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 1716 GMT on 2 June. "In no case will these elections put an end to democracy, said Trnka. Trnka noted the LSU insists that the presidential election should take place only after a new government is inaugurated. The endeavour to preserve a common state will lead the LSU to meet the Slovak victorious party's demands halfway, Trnka said. Economists Milan Matejka, Vladimir Pucik and Milan Zeleny warned against a real threat of bankruptcies of big enterprises and a following collapse of the banking."

Civic Democratic Party Hopes To Cooperate With HZDA Faction

"Bratislava—There is a faction within the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), with which the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) would be willing to closely cooperate after the elections, ODS Deputy to the Federal Assembly Eva Sahlingerova told a press conference today," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 1716 GMT on 2 June. "She said many right-orientated persons, who had left the Public Against Violence (VPN) to found the HZDS, have switched from the HZDS to the ODS."

Meciar Addresses Rally on Slovak Sovereignty, Agreement

"Kosice, east Slovakia—If the Slovak Republic is to delegate something to the common state, it first must have something to delegate, which is why it has to declare sovereignty and adopt a Slovak constitution, Vladimir Meciar told an audience of about 5,000 at a rally Tuesday for the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS)," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 0814 GMT on 3 June. " 'We're going to adopt this constitution, and we're not going to ask anyone if we can do it, not even the president. It's our right', Meciar added. Despite increasing distrust on both sides, he said, an agreement between the Slovak and Czech Republics is still possible. As Meciar explained it, this agreement would recognise the international status and statehood of both parties, preserving a common market with free movement of capital and labour, no tariffs, a common currency, common defence and a coordinated foreign policy of two subjects."

Civic Democratic Party Sets Terms for 'Reasonable Federation'

"Bratislava—Civic Democratic Party (ODS) leader Vaclav Klaus told about 8,000 people Tuesday evening at a joint rally of the ODS and the Democratic Party (DS) that a reasonable federation means maximum rights for the national (Slovak and Czech) Republics," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 0814 GMT on 3 June. "DS Chairman Jan Holcik said the economic 'third way' leads only to the Third World."

Christian Democratic Leader Criticizes 'Overgrown' Bureaucracy

"Brno, south Moravia—Christian Democratic Party (KDS) leader Vaclav Benda said here Tuesday that the KDS backs a common, functional state, in which the desire of communities, regions and nations for self-administration is respected and all citizens are equal," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 0814 GMT on 3 June. "Benda sharply criticized Czechoslovakia's overgrown bureaucracy, saying government officials spend their time in debates over power-sharing and other nonsense, pulling money from taxpayers' pockets."

Party of Democratic Left Leader Appeals for Calm

"Dear citizens! The campaign approaches its end. We will all cast our votes soon. We will decide; the decision will be based not only on the election campaign but also on what we have gone through, experienced, seen, and heard over the last two years," says Peter Weiss, chairman of the Party of the Democratic Left, during a Slovak radio election broadcast in Slovak at 0430 GMT on 3 June. "We will decide through parties and their representatives how we will be represented in parliament. We will see what bills they vote for and whether they keep their election promises. The Party of the Democratic Left thought it necessary to rely on a political culture of high standards, matter-of-fact arguments, and a calm voice. We did not want to join those who liked to raise their voices, pound the table, or deliver empty promises. It is no coincidence that our party has perhaps the youngest political leadership of all parliamentary parties. We entered politics because of our feeling of responsibility. All Party of the Democratic Left election leaders in individual regions are about 40. The responsibility not only for our children—who go to school or are entering secondary school—but also for our parents—who are retired—formed our motivation for the politics. We want to offer an opportunity to those people who could not and cannot work and live in any other way but an honest one. We want to offer you consensus instead of political intolerance. I believe that you will decide in favor of those who deserve trust. I believe that people from the Party of the Democratic Left will be among those for whom you vote."

Meciar Meets Press on Conflicting Views, Havel, Gabcikovo

"There was a large turnout of local and foreign correspondents at today's Movement for a Democratic Slovakia news conference," reports Slovak radio in Slovak at 1000 GMT on 3 June. "Questions for the Movement's chairman and its other representatives went straight to the point throughout the news conference.

"The first question was on some of Vladimir Meciar's past statements on certain issues, particularly his having various views on the same issues. The Movement's chairman said that this is due to development—his own

and political development—and to the changing situation in our country. He also commented on Vaclav Havel's address on CSFR TV on 2 June, saying that it was considered a rejection of cooperation with his Movement.

"Vladimir Meciar's response to the question of whether they are a threat to coupon privatization and why some of the Movement for Democratic Slovakia representatives differ in their statements on this issue was, I quote: We have no directives in our movement which every member must follow when making his comments. Gabcikovo must be completed, Vladmir Meciar said, because by not starting operations we are incurring large losses, and that we cannot afford.

"As for future possible coalition partners, for the time being the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia is reserved on that issue. As the chairman said, many parties would like to sit in the government but do not offer the people real guarantees that they will fulfill their promises. However, he does know precisely with whom he would not form a coalition, and he named several political subjects.

"The Movement for a Democratic Slovakia chairman also commented on several laws which he feels must be complemented or amended. He mentioned the screening act; the transformation act; the taxation act, which he feels is key; the Federal information and security service act; etc. The Movement for Democratic Slovakia's stand on President Havel's candidacy for the post of president is reserved. They know of his popularity; on the other hand, they also know of the decline of his influence. They will express their final opinion after the elections.

"Emotions rode high when the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia chairman branded the MLADA FRONTA DNES editor as untrustworthy and refused to answer his question. Some of the members of the press reacted by departing from the news conference."

More on Meciar's 3 Jun News Conference

"Vladimir Meciar, chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) today said that Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel has clearly given his backing to right-wing parties, thus rejecting cooperation with the HZDS," reports Prague CSTK in English in a Bratislava-datelined report at 1225 GMT on 3 June. "Speaking at a press conference, Meciar said: 'We are taking this into account'. In his speech televised Tuesday evening, Havel called on Czechoslovak citizens to give their votes to those who want to reach understanding with one another, to those who want to cooperate, to those who sincerely honour the constitution, law and democracy, to those who want to continue implementing bold economic reforms. He pointed out that 'we should demonstrate to Europe and the world that it is possible to follow the path of cooperation, solidarity, federalism and integration'.

"Meciar, whose Movement is pushing for Slovakia's sovereignty, said that no political party has the right to decide whether or not the common state of Czechs and Slovaks will be split. The decision rests with the citizens themselves and is to be made in a referendum, he added. According to Meciar, in June 1990 Havel promised that the Czech and Slovak Republics would enter Europe as two independent political entities. With his speech on Tuesday he changed this position, Meciar said.

"In an interview in today's Czech daily 'RUDE PRAVO', Meciar said that after the June 1990 elections he took part in talks in Bratislava on the formation of a coalition Federal Government. 'Then an agreement was reached that the Czech and Slovak Republics would enter Europe as two sovereign and equal units. When we were specifying the term "sovereignty", it was understood that two units would enter Europe. This was also anchored in the Federal Government's programme statement, which was approved by the Federal Assembly (parliament)'.

"Meciar dismissed talk of the HZDS wanting to introduce socialism and to throw 'the Hungarians across the Danube' as nonsense."

Eighteen Presidential Candidates Registered

LD0206222492 Prague CSTK in English 1923 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Prague June 2 (CSTK—Czechoslovak parliament First Deputy Chairman Zdenek Jicinsky today told CSTK the 18 proposed candidacies for the post of Czechoslovak president, received by the parliament to date, will be discussed by the new legislative body that will emerge from the June 5-6 parliamentary elections.

Jicinsky said many of the proposals were made by the presidential candidates themselves.

He went on to say that only the candidacies submitted by parliament deputies, parliamentary groups or parties represented on parliament will be discussed.

The major candidate, supported by many political parties, has been Vaclav Havel, current president of Czechoslovakia.

The date of the presidential elections has not yet been precisely set, but it should start between July 3 and July 5. The fifth of July is the last day of Havel's two-year term of office.

Under the constitutional law on the Czechoslovak Federation, the election of president can take place in two rounds. Unless the president is elected in the first round by a three-fifth majority of votes in the parliament's 150-seat House of the People and in the Czech and Slovak parts of the House of Nations, each having 75 seats, the election will be repeated in a fortnight. Running in it will be the two candidates who received the biggest number of votes in the first round. A candidate who would receive the absolute majority of votes, i.e. 76

votes in the House of the People and 38 in each the Czech and Slovak parts of the House of nations, would become Czechoslovak president, Jicinsky said.

Under the Constitution, the president can remain in power until October 5 at the latest. After this date his duties are performed by the Federal Government.

If the parliament failed to elect a president, another two-round election would take place within a fortnight with new candidates participating, Jicinsky said.

The Federal Government will resign on June 25 of June 26 following the constituent session of a new federal parliament, and the president will empower it to perform its duties until a new government is appointed. In accord with the valid Constitution, the activity of the "outgoing" government is not terminated after its resignation, but the new parliament is expected to initiate as soon as possible coalition talks on the composition of a new federal government. Provided no new government is appointed and no Czechoslovak president is elected, the new government would be named by the federal parliament presidium.

Parties Request Ministry To Screen Candidates

AU0306112592 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 28 May 92 p 3

[CSTK report: "A Total of 23 Parties Have Their Candidates Screened"]

[Text] Prague—A total of 23 political entities that are running in the elections have requested the Federal Interior Ministry to screen their candidates. The amendment to the election law made it possible for the parties and movements to require a certificate in accordance with the screening law before a citizen is included in the list of candidates. The following parties have done this: the Civic Democratic Alliance; the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party; the Movement for Self-Governing Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia; the Party of the Democratic Left; D 92; the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement; Egyutteles-Coexistence; the Christian Democratic Union-the Czechoslovak People's Party; the Party of Czechoslovak Entrepreneurs, Tradesmen, and Farmers; the Czechoslovak Socialist Party; the Green Party; the Civic Movement; the Christian Democratic Movement; the Civic Democratic Union; the Green Party in Slovakia; the Club of Non-Aligned Activists; the Romany Civic Initiative; the Social Democratic Party in Slovakia; the Democratic party; the Civic Democratic Party; the Independent Erotic Initiative; and the Christian Democratic Party.

Slovakia Protests Hungarian TV Newscasts

LD0206121992 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Interview with Slovak International Relations Minister Pavol Demes by editor Michal Tvarozek in Bratislava on 2 June—recorded]

[Text] [Tvarozek] Slovak International Relations Minister Pavol Demes sent the Hungarian General Consulate representative a Slovak Government protest note over some Hungarian broadcasts that can be received in the CSFR. The Slovak Government and the Slovak Election Commission can only assess these broadcasts as interference in our culminating election campaign. These reports, particularly television newscasts, discriminate in favor of some political parties and their representatives. This contradicts the ethics of usual preelection practice in relations between European democratic states, with which both our neighboring states identify. This is the text of the entire verbal protest. Mr. Minister, which party is this about?

[Demes] Duray's Coalition, mostly. The Hungarian Civic Party is discriminated against in this. I do not want to suggest that the Hungarian Civic Party or some other political subject is protesting this because the Slovak Election Commission asked our Ministry yesterday to do something in this matter. The Slovak Election Commission is a body superior to party politics.

[Tvarozek] How did the Hungarian Consulate representative receive this protest? Does he have any power to put things right?

[Demes] The Hungarian General Consulate and the Embassy have the right and the chance to convey this to Hungarian Government circles. Naturally, in Hungary, as in our country, television and radio are independent institutions. They cannot be ordered to broadcast one thing and not something else. However, they can—and we ask them to do this—create the sort of atmosphere in which the Hungarian media would not take refuge in similar displays.

[Tvarozek] Do you think this could affect the election results?

[Demes] It is very difficult to say. In any case, if a certain politician or a political subject is given more space and time on television and this television broadcast can be received in southern Slovakia, it can have its impact. However, it is only speculation. In any case, if in our country we pay so much attention to the exact time our politicial subjects and politicians get on television, radio, and other media, it is a bit unfair if a neighboring state discriminates against some subjects by expressing their preferences by giving more space to some politicians and political groups.

Foreign Trade Minister Discusses Arms Trade

AU0306124392 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 27 May 92 p 4

[Interview with Federal Foreign Trade Minister Jozef Baksay by Marcela Doleckova; place and date not given: "The Trade Ministry Must Not Trade"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted]

[Doleckova] Talking about the Czechoslovak arms trade at the time you assumed your post, you said that the export of arms does not pay. Recently, you have been speaking to the effect that Czechoslovakia would show a lack of business sense if it left the world arms market.

[Baksay] The export of arms did not pay under the former regime because it served primarily political goals. I am not talking about prices, but about the fact that the exports were made on government credit under very disadvantageous conditions. The government credits have almost never been paid, and therefore we have huge outstanding claims in some countries. Czechoslovakia, however, built up an excellent arms industry as long ago as at the time of the First Republic [1918-1938]. Names like Skoda or Zbrojovka gained an international reputation. Therefore I believe that as long as good legislation is introduced in the arms trade sector, it would be nonsense to take away jobs from people for whose products there is a demand. The value of Czechoslovak arms exports declined from 27 billion korunas in 1987 to less than 6 billion korunas in 1991. If other countries—beginning with America and ending, let us say, with Germany—had reduced their exports so drastically, I would insist that the conversion be thoroughly implemented in Czechoslovakia. However, since an increase in the production and sale of American, German, Italian, etc. goods followed the reduction in our exports, I believe that we cannot act like business dilettantes and let philanthropy prevail over actual economic consequences.

[Doleckova] Is the list of countries to which exports of Czechoslovak arms are banned final?

[Baksay] This list must be flexible and therefore I am strictly against its publication. Moreover, we need to export civilian goods to some of the countries that might be risky from the military point of view, and here we talk about substantial capital investments. Thus, as a result of my visit to Iran last December, we have signed several very profitable contracts, from an aluminum factory to cement works, with an estimated value in excess of $1 billion. One does not have to be clairvoyant to assume that a sudden public declaration of the ban on military exports to Iran might jeopardize our civilian contracts with it. Hence, a politician must consider the economic and political aspects very carefully and not react like a dilettante. [passage omitted on export-promoting measures]

[Doleckova] You mentioned the detrimental conditions of many old government credits. Trade with the Soviet Union was not conducted on any government credit basis last year, and yet our exporters have not been paid.

[Baksay] According to the statistics from the former Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia managed to maintain its position as the fourth largest supplier to the USSR. Only the FRG, the United States, and Italy are ahead of us. Thus, despite the general expectations of decline, and the former Soviet Union's tremendous difficulties, we maintained a turnover in excess of $5 billion. I am not even talking about the achievement of agreeing on the exchange rate of 1 to 1 between the convertible ruble and the U.S. dollar. Regarding the substantial trade surplus last year, certain undisciplined companies in Czechoslovakia are partially responsible as they ignored the announcement of the credit limit ($150 million) overdraft, and continued shipments without securing payments. Another aspect is the virtually total collapse of the only Soviet bank authorized last year for foreign trade operations. Therefore, we have negotiated a completely different trade system for 1992, which secures direct payments to our companies, this time through a Czechoslovak commercial bank. The payment of outstanding debts is the point in question now. The government credit from the time of Prime Minister Adamec will be paid by installments beginning on 1 January 1996. The part of the debt resulting from certain integration projects is mostly being paid in goods, and this type of payment is advantageous for the Czechoslovak side. The remainder in excess of $2 billion is a real problem. We would like to have this debt paid in two ways. First, it could be paid by crude oil directly from the drilling regions, while until now we could only use the oil guaranteed by the Russian Government. Second, there is a promise by the Russian side that at least a part of last year's debt will be paid. The possibility of capitalization of the debt also exists. It means that Czechoslovakia would give securities obtained from the Russian Federation to the companies that are interested in a capital entry into Russia and are owed money there. I must say that it is a lucrative opportunity. [passage omitted]

Dlouhy Outlines Report on Arms Conversion

AU0306125092 Prague CSTK in English 1257 GMT 29 May 92

[Text] Prague May 29 (CSTK)—Czechoslovak Economics Minister Vladimir Dlouhy said in today's Czech daily NOVINY [NEWSPAPER] he has drawn up an extensive report on the conversion of the Czechoslovak arms industry into civilian production, including future programs for arms production.

"A considerable change in (the country's) attitude towards support for the arms industry conversion into civilian production is part of the report (to be discussed by the Federal Government June 4)", said Dlouhy. "On the other hand, if the government decides in view of the country's defense capability that production in some arms factories should continue, these enterprises will be subsidized to a certain extent. Also in the future there will be countries and markets where arms exports will be forbidden, and countries where there will be no limitations", Dlouhy said.

He stated that he proposed in the report that subsidies for conversion be granted to those arms factories that will stop their production by the end of this year. "I would not want the situation to continue that producers

of tanks, who simultaneously started manufacturing a diesel engine with an Italian company, are granted state subsidies", Dlouhy said.

Before the November 1989 overthrow of communist rule in Czechoslovakia, Czechoslovakia was a large arms exporter, with 60 percent of arms production centred in Slovakia and 40 percent in the Czech Republic.

According to figures of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) published in the daily NOVINY, Czechoslovakia ranked seventh among the world's arms exporters in 1985-89. 80 percent of Czechoslovakia's exports went to the former Warsaw treaty countries, 75 percent of them to the former Soviet Union. The remaining 20 percent were designated for Arab countries, the paper said.

Inflation Continues To Decline in April

AU0206133692 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 25 May 92 p 8

[Federal Statistical Office, Czech Statistical Office, and Slovak Statistical Office report: "Slight Movements of Prices in April"]

[Text] As in prior months this year, slight movements of prices were observed in the production sphere in April. The prices for industrial products rose slightly, 0.5 percent, prices for products and materials used in construction 0.6 percent, and prices for construction work even dropped slightly by 0.8 percent (against the previous month).

Since the beginning of the year (December 1991 = 100), the price increase in April was the most pronounced in the case of industrial products, 3.5 percent. Prices for products and materials used in construction rose 2.6 percent and prices for construction work rose 0.5 percent. Prices rose faster in the Czech Republic than in the Slovak Republic. In the case of industrial products, it was 1.8 points, construction work 2.1 points (a slight decline in the Slovak Republic), and, on the contrary, prices for construction materials were slightly higher in the Slovak Republic than in the Czech Republic—0.7 points.

Compared with the same period last year, prices for industrial products in April were 5.5 percent higher in the CSFR, 6.4 percent in the Czech Republic, and 3.2 percent in the Slovak Republic; prices for construction work in the CSFR 5.6 percent, 11.1 percent in the Czech Republic and in the Slovak Republic they declined 0.9 percent; and prices for materials and products used in construction were 5.9 percent higher in the CSFR, the Czech Republic, and the Slovak Republic, too.

The increase in prices for agricultural products shows a declining trend this year. Against the same period last year, prices for agricultural products in April were 2.8 percent higher (11.3 percent in January, 8.8 percent in February, and 6.5 percent in March). Prices for crop farming rose 5.9 percent in April, and prices for animal products 2.6 percent.

At the same time, these prices rose 4.5 percent in the Czech Republic, while they declined 1 percent in the Slovak Republic. This was due to the decline in prices for animal products.

Slovak Government Expects Rise in Consumption

AU0306111292 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak 27 May 92 p 2

["(zi)"-signed report: "The Decline Stops"]

[Text] It follows from the report on the development of the national economy—which was discussed at a Slovak Government meeting yesterday—that the republic's economy has continued to follow the economic trend at the end of last year, when supply prevailed over demand.

The decline in domestic demand eased in Slovakia in the first quarter, while daily production began to rise in the month-to-month comparison. The increase in productivity in industry, construction, and transportation had an effect here. According to preliminary data, the national product (without foreign trade) declined 7 to 9 percent in the first three months, and gross domestic product 5 to 7 percent. The decline in the volume of imports has resulted in a surplus of 3.7 billion korunas in the quarterly foreign trade balance.

Consumer prices for products and services increased 1.1 percent against December last year. The increase in food prices was the smallest, while prices for non-food products rose more than average.

The budgetary economy resulted in a surplus of 1.4 billion korunas at the end of March. This result was mainly due to the regulatory measures adopted on the expenditure side of the budget. The Slovak Republic state budget's income totalled 25 billion korunas in the first quarter, however it did not reach one fourth of its expected annual total. Lower income collected from the turnover tax largely accounts for the fact that budget income was 4.4 billion korunas less than planned. The situation changed in less than the two months that followed, and at present, the Slovak budget shows a deficit of some 1.4 billion korunas.

It is expected that—as a reflection of rebounding demand—the economy will continue to maintain the trend toward slowing or even stopping the decline in supply. This has also been confirmed by opinions prevailing in the production sphere and by surveys of managers' expectations. A rebound is expected in construction, too. It is possible to expect improvements in supply in retail trade—which creates conditions for increasing the sales while the real income is growing.

The government also discussed and approved with comments a bill on complaints, a bill on fodder, a concept for

monitoring the environment, and a concept for an integrated information system on the environment.

Among other things, the government also approved a report on drawing on the amount designed for guarantees provided by the state budget on loans this year. New guarantees provided by the state budget will represent some 19 billion korunas by the end of 1992. However, this means than the agreed amount of guarantees will be overdrawn by more than 100 percent. The government approved the maximum limit for providing new guarantees from the state budget, this limit amounts to 10 percent of the Slovak Republic's income.

At its meeting yesterday, the government also discussed privatization projects for direct sales of enterprises.

EC Agrees To Help Finance Elbe River Cleanup

LD0106214192 Prague CSTK in English 1548 GMT 1 Jun 92

[Text] Prague June 1 (CSTK)—Czechoslovakia, Germany, and the European Community (EC) signed here today a plan for reducing the level of toxic contaminants in the Elbe River.

The plan provides for finishing by 1995 communal sewage treatment plants in towns with a population over 20,000, for beginning the construction of sewage plants in towns with a population of over 50,000 and for cutting off industrial sources of the river's contamination. The plan was signed by Czechoslovak minister-chairman of the federal committee for the environment, Josef Vavrousek, German Environment Minister Klaus Toepfer and EC ambassador to Czechoslovakia Leopoldo Giunti.

The EC is expected to contribute a certain amount towards financing the construction of sewage treatment plants, Czech Environment Minister Ivan Dejmal told a press conference later.

Vavrousek recalled that 32 per cent of the 1,167 km-long segment of the river which turns through Czechoslovakia is considered to be in the category of most heavily contaminated rivers.

U.S. Embassy Accused of Fixing Colgate Deal

AU0106115392 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 28 May 92 p 2

[TK SR report: "Movement for a Democratic Slovakia: Suspicion"]

[Text] In connection with the sale of the Danubiaprint state enterprise to the Ister company, Roman Zelenay, deputy to the Federal Assembly for the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], voiced the suspicion lest this company gain control over Slovak mass media. He drew attention to the fact that a company of the same name already acquired a television broadcasting license. L. Dolgos, former chairman of the Slovak Anti-Monopoly Office, announced that in its electoral program the HZDS provides for an inquiry into the process of privatization thus far because it is of the opinion that not all valid legal regulations have been complied with. The HZDS does not, however, prepare any legislation with retroactive validity. In order to make capital links more transparent, the movement seeks the adoption of legislative measures on the obligation to prove the origin of money. F. Macuga, deputy director of the AB Kosmetika state enterprise in charge of economic affairs, who attended the news conference as guest, said that the privatization project drawn up by the management of the enterprise is clearly more advantageous, even according to the Slovak Government's Economic Council, than the rival project submitted by the U.S. Colgate company. However, a single phone call from the U.S. Embassy in Prague sufficed and the project was not even included in the government's agenda, F. Macuga said. According to L. Dolgos, Colgate seeks to establish a monopoly, in which it has already succeeded in Poland, Hungary, or Bulgaria.

Independent TV License Awarded in Slovakia

AU0306111592

[Editorial Report] Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 27 May on page 2 carries a 100-word unattributed report stating that the Commission for Awarding Television Licenses operating under the Slovak Ministry of Culture had received applications from 42 individuals and corporations for a license to operate a private television station. It has decided to "award one license to two companies, on the understanding that these two companies will agree between themselves on the scale of broadcasting." The two companies are Medium 5 Bratislava and Ister Dunajska Streda.

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 27 May on pages 1 and 2, under the headline "Whose Game Is It?," carries a 600-word Lubo Rabay report on a news conference held by the "Union for Independent Television and Radio Broadcasting" in Bratislava on 26 May. According to the report, the union's representatives qualified the licensing procedure as "peculiar." They pointed out that all 42 bidders had met the conditions set by the respective law and demanded an explanation as to which criteria the Slovak Ministry of Culture commission used. In a statement that was presented by Petronela Vancikova, the union's vice president, they also contrasted the Czech Government's "active" approach to "demonopolization" in the media sphere with Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky's "categorical opposition to so-called 'rash' demonopolization."

CSTK Dispatches Own Reporters to Bratislava

AU0306132392 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 30 May 92 p 1

["(brp)"-signed report: "CSTK Has Been Forced To Send Its Own Reporters to Slovakia"]

[Text] Prague—As of this quarter, the Czechoslovak Press Agency central office in Prague has been employing on a permanent basis two reporters and two correspondents in Slovakia. "I think that in certain instances reporting from Slovakia has lacked a federal perspective," said Petr Holubec, chief editor of CSTK's reporting section, yesterday. "We have the feeling that there is a different approach toward acquiring information in the Slovak Republic's CSTK (TK SR). For example, during May, TK SR did not take from our reporters in Bratislava certain, in our opinion, very important items that all the main Czech dailies published."

CSTK has been divided into two independent entities since 1 April: Federal CSTK and Slovak Republic CSTK (TK SR). TK SR is regulated by a Slovak National Council law and is affiliated to the Slovak Republic budget. Negotiations are currently being held on TK SR's delimitation from CSTK.

Sanctions Against Serbia, Montenegro Begin 3 Jun

LD0306164192 Budapest MTI in English 1408 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] Budapest, June 3 (MTI)—The UN sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro came into force in Hungary on June 3, the day when the government decree on enforcing the sanctions was published in the HUNGARIAN GAZETTE, the official paper of the Republic of Hungary, Janos Martonyi, state secretary of foreign affairs, told the press at the Foreign Ministry on Wednesday.

Hungary will suspend trade with Serbia and Montenegro at 0.00 a.m. on Thursday, June 4, Martonyi said. The ban applies to road, rail and air traffic alike. As for passenger transport, the embargo will only affect air traffic. Nor will it apply to shipping on the Danube, since the river is an international waterway.

Hungary will impose a ban on transit shipments to and from Serbia and Montenegro. Since some shipments are already under way to Serbia and Montenegro, the Hungarian Government has provided two days of grace, so the ban will only take effect on June 6 at midnight. (The transit embargo applies to natural gas deliveries from the Ukraine to Serbia. It is fortunate from this point of view that the Ukraine has joined the UN embargo, and indicated that it would suspend gas deliveries.)

Cash transfers will be forbidden. For humanitarian reasons, however, the Hungarian bank accounts of Serbian and Montenegrin private individuals will not be frozen, but transfers will not be allowed from these accounts.

The UN embargo does not apply to food and medicine deliveries. Nevertheless, the Hungarian Government will keep a tab on these deliveries and take care that no shipments of strategic amount and nature should reach Serbia or Montenegro.

For fear of the incalculable Serbian reactions, Hungary is to reinforce the border guard and the police along the border. However, there is no sign that Serbia would prepare for any act of aggression, Martonyi said.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs has prepared to tackle eventual passenger transit traffic jams in Hungary due to the closed border with Serbia.

If required, provisional parking lots and checkpoints will be set up along the roads to provide passengers with food.

Hungarian and Romanian authorities have also started talks on how to speed up border crossings.

The ministry has prepared for a mass exodus. Should this occur, refugees might also be accommodated at military facilities.

At variance with the self-constraint displayed by Hungary during the Gulf war, the country will seek reimbursement through international law for losses caused by the embargo. Hungary hopes the international community will understand its special needs.

Among other causes, such needs stem from the fact that Hungary has given shelter to tens of thousands of refugees.

As to damages, Deputy State Secretary of International Economic Relations Lajos Berenyi said that last year Hungarian-Serbian trade amounted to 250 million dollars, with Hungarian exports comprising 170 million dollars.

In the first four months of this year, that turnover totalled 92 million dollars, with Hungarian exports amounting to 70 million.

Suspending exports to Serbia and Montenegro may cause a considerable reduction in some fields of production, and the loss caused by thwarted transit deliveries - such as natural gas - may amount to tens of million dollars, Berenyi said.

Hungarian-Serbian Border Passage 'Uncertain'

LD0406093392 Budapest MTI in English 0713 GMT 4 Jun 92

[Text] Budapest, June 4 (MTI)—Passage through the Hungaro-Serbian border stations is uncertain, border guard spokesman Janos Zubek said on Thursday morning.

Thirty minutes after the Hungarian embargo took effect, Serbian trucks blocked again the crossing point of Horgos opposite Roszke for two hours from 0.30 am. Traffic resumed at 2.30 am as a result of police intervention .

At 8 am on Thursday, all border stations were crossable, with a two-hour waiting time at Redics, the spokesman said.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman on Government Statement

AU0306190592 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 1 Jun 92 pp 1,3

[Interview with Government Spokesman Janos Herman by an unidentified reporter; place and date not given: "We Are Among the Most Concerned Parties"]

[Text] Janos Herman clarified some of the details of the Hungarian Government statement issued on 31 May.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] According to its statement, the Hungarian Government was in continuous contact with those affected. Who were they?

[Herman] First of all, we were naturally in contact with the members of the UN Security Council, through Hungary's UN Ambassador Andre Erdos. We are also in contact with every international organization that participates in solving the problems in Yugoslavia, and I mean here the EC, the countries participating in the CSCE, the Visegrad Triangle, and Austria.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] Can we talk of full consensus among the aforementioned countries?

[Herman] We can talk of a basic consensus, and this means that there is a basic consensus on the need for sanctions. The exact time and form in which each country wants to implement these sanctions is another matter.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] Why did Hungary feel qualified to be among the initiators of these sanctions?

[Herman] I think that, along with the former member republics of Yugoslavia, Hungary is one of those countries that are most interested in solving this conflict. We are talking about a neighboring country but, in addition to the geographic proximity, our situation is special because of the Hungarian minority living in Serbia and the fact that Hungary is now a member of the UN Security Council.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] According to the Hungarian Government statement, Hungary joined the group of sanction initiators at the request of several countries.

[Herman] A draft resolution was submitted to the Security Council, and although no formal request for participation arrived to us, our partners in the Security Council expected Hungary—one of the most affected countries in the region—to be among the initiators in this diplomatic action.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] On the other hand, Hungary is not only specially affected, but it is also in a particularly sensitive situation. Is the Hungarian Government taking this into consideration?

[Herman] In connection with this, one must take three things into account. One of the considerations is that there is a need to increase the pressure on the leadership in Belgrade to somehow force them to stop the hostilities. Therefore, from the very beginning, we supported every relevant step made by the EC, the CSCE, and the United Nations. Second, we must take our own situation and security interests into consideration.

Third, given the Serbian attitude, we could not act differently. However, the joined evaluation of all these really sensitive positions did not exclude the possibility to become coauthors of this resolution, in the hope that these sanctions would bring a solution and peace closer in this area south of our borders.

Editorial Views UN Embargo on Yugoslavia

AU0306191392 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 1 Jun 92 p 1

[Editorial by Peter G. Feher: "Embargo"]

[Text] The UN Security Council has decided on punishing measures against small Yugoslavia [FRY]. According to estimates, the embargo to be implemented against the FRY will seriously affect the economies of Serbia and Montenegro. This embargo aims to force Belgrade to withdraw its troops from Bosnia and to stop the bloodshed.

If these measures had been taken almost one year ago—something that failed to materialize because the Western powers were unwilling to introduce sanctions—perhaps it would have been possible to avoid the situation in which the former southern Slav country became the graveyard of tens of thousands of people and millions left their homes and property accumulated during a lifetime. All this failed, and almost one year had to pass for the world to understand that Belgrade only understands the language of force.

We still remember the relatively quick decision of the always careful Western diplomacy to set up an allied armed force to free Kuwait from Iraqi aggression and eliminate the consequences of Iraqi occupation. One can state with certainty that the most serious consequences of the Yugoslav war could have been avoided if the members of the international community had taken a similar position against Yugoslavia. This did not happen, probably because the former Yugoslavia does not have such huge and valuable oil reserves as the Kuwaiti Shaykdom in the Middle East.

The recent UN Security Council decision has created a very sensitive situation for Hungary. The Serbian leadership always tried to draw Hungary into this armed conflict. We cannot forget about the hundreds of thousands of Hungarians living in Vojvodina, a population already decimated by Belgrade's forced military draft. If the fighting spreads to its territory too, this situation will be worse than just sensitive for Hungary.

Fur Links Security Policy, Minority Issues

LD0306130392 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0600 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] Defense Minister Lajos Fur has excluded the possibility that Hungarian soldiers might take part in an eventual military intervention in Yugoslavia under UN direction. The minister emphasized yesterday that Yugoslavia poses no concrete threat to Hungary and the fighting there is not directed against Hungary. Lajos Fur spoke to [correspondent] Peter Marvanyi:

[Begin recording] [Marvanyi] When you worked out the military doctrine, concept, call it what you will, the

defense concepts, let us say, how far did you take into consideration the situation of Hungarians beyond the border?

[Fur] Not in the basic defense principles, but in the elaboration of Hungary's security policy, of which the basic defense principles are naturally a part. We have always taken into consideration, and one has to take into consideration, the situation of the Hungarian minorities beyond the border, their cause, and their fate. We have been saying recently—and this in a very decisive way—that the settlement of the minority issue is today a security policy issue as well. So, here it is more....

[Marvanyi interrupting] It is not a military but....

[Fur interrupting] It is not a military but a security policy issue. To put it plainly, if the Hungarian minority beyond the border cannot feel secure in any part of the world, then general security in that region could also find itself in danger. [end recording]

Foreign Minister on Ratification of Treaties

LD0306183992 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1428 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Speech by Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky presenting draft National Assembly resolutions on the ratification of bilateral treaties; followed by vote; in the National Assembly in Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] Esteemed Mr. Chairman, esteemed National Assembly: On behalf of the government, I recommend for ratification the following international treaties: the Hungarian-French treaty on Understanding and Friendship which was signed on 1 September 1991—excuse me, let me correct that, it says 1 on the manuscript, but it was signed on the 11th; the Hungarian-Polish Friendship and Good-Neighborly Cooperation Treaty which was signed on 6 October 1992; the treaty with the Federal Republic of Germany on Friendly Cooperation and European Partnership which was signed on 6 February 1992; and the Consular Agreement with Ukraine which was signed on 31 May 1991.

Esteemed house, a country cannot build its foreign policy on sympathy alone. That is why we endeavor to lay down, in treaties, our mutual interests with our near and more distant neighbors, with the democratic states of the world.

Allow me to sum up in brief the main characteristics and objectives of the four agreements submitted to you. The first: ties between Hungary and France have prevailed throughout our history. [passage omitted] The change of system in Hungary, the decisive transformations in Europe between 1989 and 1991 have created an opportunity in our relations with France, one of the key countries of the European Community, so that cooperation can be based on new foundations.

When drawing up the agreement, we bore in mind throughout that the clauses of this important document should create the framework not only for our integration into Europe, but also for the completion of Hungarian society's political and economic transformation.

I would especially like to call to your attention the expression which figures in the title: understanding, in French, entente. In the 20th century, the latter word contains, for Hungary, the image of groupings which oppose us. And perhaps I am not wrong if I am of the opinion that the name of the current treaty can be construed as a conceptual redress of sorts. In any case, it is a good indication of the historical advance which can be experienced in Hungarian-French relations.

The treaty views the main task of both sides as being the creation of a genuine partnership to be brought about in a spirit of trust and solidarity.

According to the third clause, the two countries recognize and stipulate that a satisfactory settlement of the issue of national minorities is of basic importance from the viewpoint of Europe's stability and security, as well as the consolidation of democracy. It is my conviction that it is especially significant that our approach has been reflected, with the understanding of our partners, in the Hungarian-French basic treaty.

Clause 6, the so-called security policy, merits special attention. According to it, if one of the sides is threatened, the treaty provides for consultations between the partners. I believe that in the current state of our region, which is not free of dramatic events, everyone senses the importance of this clause. [passage omitted]

The second point: For centuries, one of the main concepts of Hungarian-Polish friendship and cooperation was the idea and practice of friends in need. [passage omitted] By virtue of its geopolitical situation, its political and economic weight, Poland is an important partner for us in Central Europe and among the Visegrad Triangle.

The treaty provides a firm basis for the development of bilateral cooperation based on mutual and genuine interests. It is in harmony with our national values and determination. It contributes substantively, both in spirit and in specific formulations, to the assertion of European norms in our region which is experiencing years of historical transformation.

The stability of the central European region and rapprochement between the peoples who live here are preconditions of our intensive cooperation with the developed democracies, of catching up. The principles and objectives laid down in the Hungarian-Polish basic treaty point in this direction. For this reason, the significance of the document goes beyond the framework of bilateral relations. By implementing the treaty, both countries can come closer to seizing the historical chance of catching up with the developed democracies. Point

three: One of the most important routes for the Hungarians to join Europe, for more than a millennium, has led through Germany. The first support for Hungary, which reestablished its independence in 1848, came from the parliament in Frankfurt. Concluding the German-Hungarian Treaty of Cooperation and Partnership we started from the fact that united Germany will remain one of the most important factors for our foreign policy and international economic relations in the long term. The treaty reflects well that in the view of the parties it will be possible to raise our bilateral relations to a higher level on the basis of common historical traditions and values. As its title shows, the document is not restricted to laying down the principles of bilateral cooperation. It determines the future path of political, security, and economic relations in the framework of European processes. The commitment undertaken by the German Government to promoting our European integration is of extraordinary importance.

Let me point out three basic elements in order to prove the strategic character of the document. The treaty states that Germany is ready to back Hungary in all fields of cooperation. In general, the articles of the treaty are of a framework nature, giving the partners a wide range of possibilities to flesh out the treaty with further content.

Finally, Article 19 of the treaty emphasizes the role of national minorities because of the German minority, nationality, in Hungary, and the importance of taking account of their situation. This important treaty meets our expectations in every respect. It creates those institutional frameworks of bilateral and multilateral cooperation whereby we are able to assert our foreign political aims of decisive importance. The treaty is highly appreciated in Germany. At the Federal Parliament session on 20 May this year, the Hungarian-German treaty was adopted without any opposition.

In point four, I would like to speak about the fact that the Republic of Hungary was among the first to recognize the independence of Ukraine, and to establish diplomatic relations with it, indicating that we ascribe a special role and importance to deepening Hungarian-Ukrainian relations. A further development of our relations can be expected in the future too, especially after the visit by Ukrainian Premier Fokin in May, in the course of which we signed several specific economic agreements. [passage omitted]

After the exchange of documents of ratification we wish to agree on the seat and scope of activity of consular representations, which are to be set up mutually, in a separate protocol at the level of foreign ministers. Following the mutual ratification, we intend to raise the consular office in Ungvar [Uzhgorod], under our embassy in Kiev, to the level of consulate general. Apart from the daily representation of the interests of Hungarian citizens and companies, the consulate general would facilitate a deepening of our relations with the Sub-Carpathian Hungarian minority as well as promote Ukrainian-Hungarian economic cooperation. [passage omitted]

[Deputy National Assembly Speaker Alajos Dornbach] Esteemed National Assembly, now follows the decision-making. I ask the esteemed National Assembly to vote on whether to adopt the draft National Assembly resolution pertaining to ratification of the Treaty of Friendship and Goodneighborly Cooperation between the Republic of Hungary and the Republic of Poland, which was signed in Krakow on 6 October 1991. Please vote. [pause while vote is taken] The National Assembly has adopted the draft with 228 votes in favor, and with no votes against nor abstentions.

Next is the draft National Assembly resolution pertaining to ratification of the Treaty on Understanding and Friendship between the Republic of Hungary and the Republic of France. [passage omitted] [pause while vote is taken] The National Assembly has adopted the draft with 233 votes in favor, and with no votes against nor abstentions. [passage omitted]

I ask the esteemed National Assembly to vote on whether to adopt the draft National Assembly resolution on ratification of the Treaty on Friendly Cooperation and European Partnership between the Republic of Hungary and the Federal Republic of Germany, which was signed on 6 February 1992. [pause while vote is taken] The National Assembly has adopted the draft with 236 votes in favor, with no votes against nor abstentions.

Now follows the draft resolution on ratification of the Consular Agreement between the Republic of Hungary and Ukraine, which was signed in Budapest on 31 May 1991. [passage omitted] [pause while vote is taken] The National Assembly has adopted the draft resolution with 235 votes in favor, and with no votes against nor abstentions.

National Assembly President Leaves for New York

LD0306140592 Budapest MTI in English 0915 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] Budapest, June 3 (MTI)—Gyorgy Szabad, president of the Hungarian National Assembly, today left for New York at the invitation of the Emanuel Foundation aimed at supporting the restoration of Budapest's Dohany Street Synagogue and other Jewish monuments.

Szabad will attend and address the celebration and gala dinner of the foundation.

During his three-day visit, Gyorgy Szabad will attend a Hungarian days event in New Brunswick, and meet Edgar Bronfman, president of the World Jewish Congress.

Forint Poised To Become 'Key' Currency in Region

LD0306195392 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2000 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] According to the Hungarian National Bank president, the forint may become a key currency in east-central Europe. Peter Akos Bod stated at a news conference in Nyiregyhaza that the forint, despite difficulties in changing the system, has demonstrated its dominance in Hungary as a full-value currency. Therefore, it has a chance to be perceived in neighboring countries as a hard currency, similar to the German mark or Austrian schilling.

Finance Minister Views Budget Deficit Issues

LD0206214492 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1350 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Remarks by Mihaly Varga, deputy of the Federation of Young Democrats, at the 2 June session of the Hungarian National Assembly in Budapest, and replies by Hungarian Finance Minister Dr. Mihaly Kupa, with Deputy Speaker Vince Voros mediating—live]

[Excerpts] [Voros] Mihaly Varga, deputy of the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESz], has submitted a list of questions to the finance minister under the title: When will the government be caught by the lame dog of the budget? My fellow deputy Mihaly Varga has the floor.

[Varga] [passage indistinct] The fact that by the end of April we managed to reach the projected budget deficit for the entire year indicates just how thorough the government's economic program was. The issue is not just the government's failure to foresee the extent of the deficit, which by the end of the year will be approximately 150-200 billion [currency not specified] versus the projected 69 billion. More alarming is that the government was not even able to guess the direction of the shift. Instead of the estimated 1 to 2 percent growth rate for the economy, last year's 8 percent decline now looks likely to continue.

The expected tax revenues are not flowing in, the unemployment level is expected to be 700,000 by the end of the year, well above the projected 500,000 level, and industrial and agricultural production will continue to decline. This budget clearly has nothing to do with the economic process we face today. In my view, the Budget Law has to be modified. [passage omitted]

Following all this, I believe my questions are obvious. What is the finance minister's plan regarding the budget deficit? My next question is what is the reason for these contradictory statements? I am waiting for your answer.

[Voros] Thank you. Minister of Finance Mihaly Kupa will answer the questions.

[Kupa] [passage omitted] Industrial production is up, albeit modestly, compared to the bedrock at the end of last year. While this does not represent great growth at least it has begun. The volume of investments this year has started to grow compared to the end of the last year, very modestly, but it has begun. [passage omitted]

Our dollar export is up 20 percent. The flaw with this figure is that a significant part of it, namely agricultural products, went to Eastern Europe. Our export dynamics can be maintained. Our imports are lower; therefore, our trade balance is better. Meanwhile, personal savings are growing dynamically as they did last year, and the banking system's liquidity is rather high. Therefore, a larger budget deficit which (?we estimate) between 4 to 5 percent of total GDP can be maintained. This means maintaining last year's level measured in GDP. It can be financed without an inflationary impact so that we regularly decrease by 3 to 5 percent the interest on state bonds, thereby pushing down the interest rate on money. Therefore, it is not worth blowing up one economic index when the economy's environment has to be viewed in its entirety.

It is a fact that unemployment is growing; however, the rate of the growth has slowed and the number of vacancies in the economy is also growing. This has to be viewed together.

Regarding the budget, naturally, in June we shall come forward with a proposal on a larger deficit, as it has to be financed in a legal way. Please accept my answer. Thank you.

Parliament Holds Shortened Plenary Session

LD0306142192 Budapest MTI in English 1014 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] Budapest, June 3 (MTI)—The Wednesday morning plenary session of the Hungarian National Assembly lasted only one and a half hours, with committee meetings to be held in the afternoon.

In her contribution before the agenda, Mrs. Laszlo Tarjan (Independent Smallholders' Party) praised the significance of the world conference on environmental protection starting today in Rio de Janeiro.

After this, MPs [members of parliament] turned to discuss the bills concerning support for social organizations, frequency management and personal data protection. All three debates were postponed.

Defense Official on Role of Diplomacy in Security

AU0306131292 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 30 May 92 p 8

[Interview with Defense Ministry Deputy State Secretary Rudolf Joo by Katalin Decsi; place and date not given: "Security and Military Diplomacy—Conflicts Are Avoidable As Long As There Is Dialogue"]

[Text] There has been an increase in the diplomatic activity of the Hungarian Defense Ministry. Ministers and high-ranking delegations arrive one after the other. We asked Rudolf Joo about the reasons behind this great interest.

[Joo] Indeed, more than 10 defense ministers have visited Hungary in the past two months, and [Hungarian Defense Minister] Lajos Fur visited at least five foreign countries. In addition, many civilian and military experts visited Hungary in this period.

Anyone who is following the news with attention can clearly see that the security and military policy in Europe has become an organic part of international politics. Military and security policy factors are coming into the center of diplomatic negotiations because of the events in Yugoslavia, the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the subsequent ethnic conflicts, in other words, because of the breakdown in our region's security conditions. Together with some other countries in a similar situation, Hungary found itself without its international pillars after the dismemberment of the Warsaw Pact and the departure of the last Soviet soldier in June 1991. Quite naturally, we are now seeking firm pillars and international frameworks that can provide us with security guarantees. We would like to implement these guarantees in the form of bilateral agreements and by joining multilateral agreements.

[Decsi] What is in the bilateral agreements that have recently been signed with several countries?

[Joo] We have already signed such agreements with most of the CSCE member states, primarily with our neighbors. Neighboring countries always play a special role in military and security policy relations. Ever since the beginning of its activity, the new Hungarian Government has been trying to create a system of bilateral relations. The main problem was that three new internationally-recognized states emerged in our neighborhood: Slovenia, Croatia, and Ukraine. We endeavored not only to recognize these new states diplomatically, but also to develop military diplomatic relations with them. The Hungarian Military Office will open in Kiev soon, and we are also planning such offices in Ljubliana and Zagreb. We would like to maintain regular and systematic relations with these new states.

We already have bilateral agreements with the CSFR, Austria, and Romania. These agreements contain measures that strengthen the confidence and increase security. For example, we inform each other about major military movements and we invite each other to military exercises. I point out here that all this is also stipulated as obligations in the agreements signed in the Helsinki spirit, like the Open Sky Agreement that we tried first with Romania. We also organize security policy consultations and scientific conferences with our partners, and we cooperate in research too, especially in our relations with Ukraine and Poland.

[Decsi] Our diplomatic relations are quite tense with some of the neighboring countries. At the same time, our military relations are extremely harmonious. Can we explain this by the fact that our soldiers are better politicians than our diplomats?

[Joo] I do not think so. There are greater opportunities in this sector, and cooperation is easier too. A realistic approach also plays a role in this, because neither country wants to play with fire. We try to solve the issues through negotiations, issues that could become explosive if we did not deal with them properly.

[Decsi] Has the Defense Ministry worked out some kind of division of labor with the Foreign Ministry and the Office of the President of the Republic?

[Joo] The international activity carried out by the President's Office has no government responsibility, and they do not have the authority and means to carry out a real security policy activity.

However, the Foreign Ministry is a professional ministry. We regularly coordinate our tasks, and this always occurs at the proper level, in an informal and systematic way. An interministerial committee acts between the two ministries; at higher levels, it is the national security cabinet that coordinates the tasks.

[Decsi] What is the role of the Defense Ministry's diplomatic activity in guaranteeing Hungary's security? Is it more important than the purchase of modern military technology?

[Joo] I would say that military conflicts can be avoided as long as negotiations are under way and the channels of dialogue are open. Thus, dialogue is some kind of a security. However, until the emergence of an all-European security system, we must have the power to deter any potential aggressor or at least to force them to consider things. In other words, we need a military force capable of defending our national sovereignty.

Walesa Says Interior Ministry Files 'Fabricated'

LD0406122392 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 1100 GMT 4 Jun 92

[Text] As we have already reported, President Lech Walesa has issued a statement on the beginning of the so-called vetting action in a sudden and expected procedure. Presidential Spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski is speaking:

[Begin Dzrycimski recording] This morning's debate in parliament has led the president to issue the following statement: The so-called vetting action has been started with a sudden and unexpected procedure. Files from the Interior Ministry's collections have been selectively released, and they contain similar information.

The material in these files has largely been fabricated, and it is already having effect. Documents are slipping out of control, and fake documents are creating a fake reality. It can be presumed that some of the documents were fabricated by the special services of other states.

Procedures and activities outside the law have been set in motion. This will facilitate political blackmail and totally destabilizes the state structures and political parties. I will refrain from commenting on the ethical questions associated with this entire operation, which already is manipulative in its assumption.

Signed: Lech Walesa. [end recording]

Politicians Comment on Files

LD0406131492 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 1100 GMT 4 Jun 92

[Text] The head of the Ministry of Internal Affairs did not provide the Sejm with lists of collaborators from this institution, but only informational documents concerning the archival collections and preparations on the method of implementing a Sejm resolution, Ministry Spokesman Tomasz Tywonek has reported. He added that the president, the speakers of both houses of parliament, the prime minister, and the chairmen of the Supreme Court and the Constitutional Tribunal had been sent the documents which, as he described them, were drawn up to implement the Sejm's resolution [on revealing security service agents] and were of particular importance for the security of the state.

The politicians' first reactions to this issue are coming in. Our reporters spoke to Krzysztof Krol from the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN] in the Sejm.

[Begin recording] [Krol] It is not a file; it is a white envelope sealed with glue or tape, sealed and addressed personally to the chairmen of parliamentary floor groups.

[Unidentified reporter] What was inside?

[Krol] Sheets of paper....

[Reporter, interrupting] How many?

[Krol] With surnames. A few dozen sheets.

[Reporter] Did you only receive the names of deputies and senators, or all the names of senators and deputies during this term of office? [sentence as heard]

[Krol] All the names, and the issue concerns all the groups on which the Sejm passed the motion.

[Reporter] Were only the Christian names and surnames inside?

[Krol] Christian name and surname, date and place of birth, present function, pseudonym or alias, nature of collaboration, and period of collaboration. That is all.

[Reporter] Did the KPN take the file, the envelopes?

[Krol] Yes, we did.

[Reporter] Do you know whether any of the floor groups did not take the file ?

[Krol] I heard that the Democratic Union and Liberal Democratic Congress did not pick them up. [end recording]

Our reporters also got a statement from Jacek Kuron from the Democratic Union. He said, among other things, that these files are the idea of mad men who think they will get justice. He doubted whether the leader of an important group who betrayed his colleagues under interrogation was any better than the one who informed. He said his party was not going to collect the files and added, in his own name, that he was not going to play the game.

Macierewicz Issues List of Agents

LD0406095492 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0847 GMT 4 Jun 92

[Unidentified correspondent's report from the Sejm—live]

[Text] [Correspondent] We have just heard in the lobby that [Internal Affairs] Minister Macierewicz has given the heads of parliamentary floor groups some files—really white envelopes—with a supposed list of deputies who were collaborators with the security service.

Krzysztof Krol from the Confederation for an Independent Poland, who left the meeting of the Council of Elders for a moment, said that these lists are incomplete and without any explanatory notes. Jan Lopuszanski [chairman of Christian National Union floor group] refrained from making any comment and said we would hear everything after the break. Andrzej Zarebski from the Liberal Democrat Congress floor group told journalists that during the Council of Elders meeting he asked the speaker if he could acquaint deputies from his floor group with this list. He was told it was secret. He therefore asked what procedure was obligatory in such matters; as a result, he caused another meeting of the

Convent of Elders to be called, probably in one hour. Today was supposed to have been devoted to the Sejm debate on the budget.

Sejm Speaker Signs Collaboration Bill

LD0406095292 Warsaw PAP in English 1818 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] Warsaw, June 3—Speaker of the Sejm (lower house) Wieslaw Chrzanowski signed last weeks's Sejm resolution on the exposure of former security service agents on Wednesday.

The resolution obliges Interior Minister Antoni Macierewicz to release a full list of names of politicians, judges, lawyers, government and local officials as well as deputies and senators who had collaborated with the communist secret police between 1945-90.

Meanwhile, President Lech Walesa told a group of senators on Wednesday that the Sejm resolution should be implemented very cautiously.

"We have to do it but let us do it wisely so that no one is harmed," he said and added that each case should be examined separately and everyone provided with a possibility of defence.

Lech Walesa said he was probably the most often apprehended and interrogated person in Poland but has not read the records of his hearings yet. "If records of those interrogations were published I would be given another nobel prize," joked the president.

President of the Supreme Court Adam Strzembosz said he had sent a letter to Prime Minister Jan Olszewski, responding to a proposal by Interior Minister Antoni Macierewicz to set up a special commission which would deal with the procedure of the implementation of the Sejm resolution on the exposure of former security service agents.

Strzembosz refused to disclose the contents of the letter, adding only that the copies of the letter were handed to the president and the Sejm speaker.

Later on Wednesday, the government press office announced that in his letter addressed to the premier Adam Strzembosz expressed willingness to set up a commission whose task would be to explain individual objections to the correctness of the implementation of the resolution on the exposure of former agents.

According to the Supreme Court president, the commission should be made up of members and deputy members of the tribunal of state—possibly lawyers—proposed by main political groupings represented in the Sejm.

Premier on Collaboration Law, Russia, Coalition

AU0306130692 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 30-31 May 91 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Prime Minister Jan Olszewski by Dariusz Fikus and Krzysztof Gottesman; place and date not given: "I Am Not Losing Hope"]

[Text] [RZECZPOSPOLITA] The problem of former Security Service agents has been a frequent one during your tenure. What is the purpose of this activity?

[Olszewski] What activity?

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] The Interior Ministry is preparing a law on this matter.

[Olszewski] The Interior Ministry is preparing amendments to the law on the protection of state and official secrets. The present legislation on this subject dates from the martial law period and is incompatible with a market economy. On the other hand, a failure to apply rules governing the protection of state and official secrets has made our economy completely defenseless against foreign competition and caused it serious losses. According to the upcoming law, those holding the most important state posts will be vetted in order to ascertain their civic and political integrity. One thing that has to be taken into consideration when considering an applicant for a post is whether or not he ever collaborated with the Security Service. We have reason to believe that it is not only possible, but highly likely that blackmail could be applied to those who did collaborate.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] And are you not scared of opening this Pandora's box?

[Olszewski] We have not opened anything yet. The vetting will be done by special boards, which will be obliged to consider their activity a state secret.

Before becoming prime minister, I said that this is a bomb with a delayed-action fuse set by our communist predecessors. Nowadays, various Security Service functionaries can voice accusations against practically everyone in the columns of the press. In a situation like that, we are defenseless.

That is why the Interior Ministry bill calls for a method completely different to the Czech one. Everything would be done without digging out old files. We are offering guilty individuals quite a lengthy period in which to draw their own conclusions and make a confession without the need to disclose anything. To be honest, I do not know if that is the best method, or if it is at all feasible.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] What condition is your government in?

[Olszewski] Not bad, considering the conditions under which it is functioning. We are under pressure from the situation and from most of the political forces in Poland. This pressure is becoming greater as time goes by.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Two events have dominated Polish political life recently—the remarks of Defense Minister Parys and the debate surrounding the Polish-Russian treaty. What part did you play in these two events, and what is your assessment?

[Olszewski] I have already spoken in the Sejm about the Parys affair, and I maintain everything I said. I do not want to relate the other aspects of this matter because a government commission and Sejm commission have already established their own findings. I must say I prefer the findings of the government commission. The most important elements of this affair are quite old. The president petitioned me to sack the defense minister before the entire business came out into the open. The cause of the problem is the very ambiguous legal regulations and an absence of rules defining the activity of those responsible for the country's defense.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Do you think the Parys affair will help resolve these irregularities?

[Olszewski] I hope so. It would be expedient for the small constitution to clearly distinguish between the powers of the president, the Presidential Chancellery, and the Defense Ministry.

The government's stand concerning the Russian treaty, or the sphere thereof that falls within the government's responsibility and scope, is clear. We think the withdrawal of the former Soviet Army from Poland should be carried out completely and utterly. There should be nothing left on Polish territory that could be exploited by any external factor, and yet such an exploitation is permitted by Article 7 of the Polish-Russian protocol on the settlement of financial issues ("the contracting parties will create the conditions for the setting up of joint civilian enterprises on the basis of part of the facilities that have been built out of the funds of the forces of the Russian Federation and handed over to Poland"). This was unacceptable to the government. Foreign Minister Skubiszewski and his ministry, which negotiated the draft agreements, admitted it was not possible to negotiate any better deal with the military. He did not say it was a bad deal, but his ministry could not get anything more out of General Grachov. Our government and its presidium disagreed with the deal. Our stance was clear from the very outset, and we conveyed it to the president and to the speakers of the Sejm and Senate. It was unfortunate that the presidential spokesman issued his statement shortly before the Polish delegation's departure for Moscow, saying that he doubted whether the Polish Government would maintain its stance because the stance had not been "formally presented." That caused a very odd situation. We feared our delegation in Moscow might think that the government's doubts had been dispelled. That is why I decided to send a cable, in code of course, containing the protocol of the Council of Ministers' meeting.

It was a mistake to amplify the matter after the delegation's return to Poland. But looking at the whole business from a diplomatic angle, it has been handled very well by the president, foreign minister, and entire government, to Poland's advantage.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] You mentioned pressure on the government from various political forces. Your government seems to have been in conflict with the Belvedere ever since it came to power. What is the conflict all about?

[Olszewski] I would not call differences of opinion between the government and the president a conflict. That is quite natural for a government equipped with powers and performing specific functions.

The most serious difference of opinion concerned the Army, and was the result of a divergent view of the activity of the Defense Ministry and Office of National Security.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] You are holding talks on expanding the government's base and guaranteeing it the Sejm's support. Your circle of interlocutors is very large and politically diversified. Is staying in power not the main purpose of these talks?

[Olszewski] Such an interpretation is completely unjustified. The letter from the president has broken the deadlock between the state authorities on the subject of parliamentary affairs. The president did not present any personal conclusions and did not make use of his constitutional prerogatives in this regard. It is necessary to find a solution to the parliamentary issue, so I will hold further talks with the leaders of other parties.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] With the present Sejm, do you think it is possible to produce a coalition capable of effective government?

[Olszewski] We will try. The only alternative is to dissolve the Sejm and hold a new election, which is not the best idea as far as state interests are concerned.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Does the fiasco of the talks between the "10 parties" provide any lesson for the present talks? Is there no feeling of pessimism?

[Olszewski] Those talks created a very clear situation. A group clearly opposed to the government appeared in the Sejm. This group is unable to form its own government, but it has to be watched. Creating an effective coalition will not be any easier than before. The present Sejm is too fragmented, and there are enormous ideological and programmatic differences within it.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] It is said that the talks between the "10" did not fire the general public's enthusiasm and blocked the possibility of carrying out planned activity. Are we going to get stuck in empty quarrels again?

[Olszewski] Well, one has to find solutions.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Positive trends have appeared in our economy this quarter, according to the statistics.

You told a meeting of Solidarity farmers that these positive trends encouraged attacks on the government. What do you think are the causes of these signs of economic revival?

[Olszewski] The economic results for April and May are also promising. State finances have been tidied up and a harsher financial policy is now being pursued, and that is the reason for the better results. We have stopped subsidizing coal mining, which was a colossal strain on the budget. That is also one of the reasons for the positive trends. The adjustments to rates of exchange have improved our foreign trade balance and boosted our exports.

We have begun to set up a fiscal inspectorate, we are tidying up customs affairs, and maintaining our harsh policy concerning the distribution of funds. All these decisions were made by my government.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] What kind of programatic consensus could a new parliamentary coalition reach? Is it possible that the Confederation of Independent Poland and the Polish Peasant Party will belong to it?

[Olszewski] Right now I am not defining any political framework. One of the reasons why the talks with the small coalition failed is that the coalition included two groups that had always been liberal and linked to the Balcerowicz plan. The inclusion of these two groups in the government would have automatically shortened the coalition's life and made it capable of resolving only a few problems, mainly the constitution and a new election code. After the adoption of these, one would have had to bid farewell to this coalition and hold new elections. Any coalition must possess a minimum of programmatic credibility.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Are we not in danger of a return of populism?

[Olszewski] What do you mean by populism?

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] For example, a demand for increased state intervention in economic processes, changes in taxation for the benefit of the poorest, a relaxation of monetary and incomes policy, and restrictions on the amount of foreign currency wealthy persons may hold.

[Olszewski] I would not call that populism. It is essential to distribute financial burdens fairly. We cannot prolong the situation where the private sector is expanding only because it avoids taxes.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Who in the Sejm can you rely on the most?

[Olszewski] I cannot rely on the small coalition, of course, because it has discredited itself, but one has to talk to the remainder of the parliamentary clubs and deputies. I will shortly hold talks with the Solidarity Deputies Club, the Peasant Party, and the People's Accord. I will talk to anyone capable of extending his support.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Do you not fear a vote on the budget?

[Olszewski] I am beginning to. I thought every rationally thinking person was already convinced of the need to adopt this budget, but since the ballot on the subject of the Constitutional Tribunal rulings, I am not sure if everyone understands state interests.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] And what if that is the case?

[Olszewski] A very dramatic situation would arise if the budget were rejected. I hope that will not happen, that is why I am holding all these talks.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] What do you think is your government's greatest success?

[Olszewski] The stabilization of the situation inside the fundamental part of the state apparatus, in other words the army and police. Also, our consistent line in economic policy—the preservation of budget equilibrium and the maintenance of contacts with farmers and the trade unions. These contacts are better than those of our predecessors, despite the several unpopular moves we have made. These achievements balance out our chief failures, which occurred mainly in parliament.

Sejm Begins Debate on Budget, Confidence Vote

LD0406082192 Warsaw PAP in English 0724 GMT 4 Jun 92

[Text] Warsaw, June 4—The Sejm (lower house) on Thursday started a three-day meeting during which deputies are expected to vote on the budget bill and on the future of the Jan Olszewski government.

Pawlak 'One Among Many' Candidates for Premier

LD0306214692 Warsaw PAP in English 2012 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] Warsaw, June 3—"Waldemar Pawlak is one among many candidates being considered by President Lech Walesa for the post of prime minister," Presidential Press Spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski announced in Warsaw on Wednesday afternoon.

The proposals follow a meeting earlier on Wednesday between President Walesa and Pawlak, leader of the Polish Peasants Party (PSL-PL), at which Walesa said that Pawlak was one of those candidates for prime minister who would be able to consolidate the Polish political scene.

Drzycimski noted that Pawlak heads a strong parliamentary grouping which is one of the most important elements in the Polish political structure. "The president

believes that the peasants form one of the groups with a key role to play in the coming transformations in Poland," Drzycimski said.

Walesa Says He 'Cannot' Work With Government

LD0306192992 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1730 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] President Lech Walesa received a delegation of the Solidarity Parliamentary floor group this afternoon. The president invited them for a discussion on the country's future.

[Begin Walesa recording] I, as president, cannot continue my work in this line-up, with this government. I am determined to improve work and to form a line-up tolerable to the president and to Poland.

I have proof, sufficient proof, to confirm that the country cannot be ruled this way. [end recording]

The president handed the Solidarity parliamentarians a confidential document containing details of the negative assessment of the progress of reforms in Poland by the Western media. Lech Walesa said that we had taken burdens upon ourselves, but not everybody was prepared for it. He also expressed hope that a better solution would emerge quickly in a democratic way.

[Begin Walesa recording] I have to reform the country, but it must be a real reform and not a substitute battlefield for opponents where the problems that face us are not solved. [end recording]

In the president's opinion, our failure to achieve the intended result is due to this lack of understanding and agreement.

Walesa, KPN Leader Discuss Future Coalition

LD0306204492 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 2000 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] President Lech Walesa tonight received Leszek Moczulski, leader of the Confederation for Independent Poland [KPN]. We talked about the need to establish a broad coalition capable of forming a government which will lead the country though the difficult period of transition, the KPN leader said after the meeting. He added that in his opinion it is equally important to work out a new coherent economic plan and to adopt the so-called provisional constitution. Asked which parties can establish the broad coalition, Leszek Moczulski said that at the moment this is an open issue and his party has no personal and political objections. Regarding the KPN attitude toward Waldemar Pawlak as premier, Leszek Moczulski said that this candidacy is no surprise to him. In Moczulski's opinion, a premier from the peasant group would be acceptable to deputies from different parts of the Sejm chamber.

Soviet Commander Dubynin Apologizes to Walesa

LD0306165692 Warsaw PAP in English 1434 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] Warsaw, June 3—President Lech Walesa held talks with the commander of the former Soviet Northern Army Group, General Victor Dubynin, during which the general apologized for the 47 years the Soviet Army had been in Poland, according to presidential spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski.

Dubynin guaranteed that the fighting units of the former Soviet Army would leave Poland by November 15. Of 59,000 Russian soldiers, over 35,000 had already returned to Russia.

The general also gave assurances that the garrisons occupied by the troops would be left undamaged. He said he was conscious of the harm done by the stationing of Russian troops in Poland over many years.

President Walesa replied that we could not continue with mutual accustations and insults, otherwise the vicious circle of mutual claims could not be broken.

During the talks it was stressed that the recent signing of the Polish Russian treaty in Moscow would facilitate the resolution of many problems.

"We succeeded with President Yeltsin in closing the old epoch and opening a new one", declared Walesa and added that in former years both countries had caused much unnecessary harm to one another.

"In the new epoch we should take care that our countries live in friendship, so that things go well for our countries, and so that we do not anger or hurt each other", continued Walesa.

In the name of the Northern Group Command General Dubynin presented President Walesa with a present for his name day, a miniature fighter aeroplane.

Sanctions Against Serbia, Montenegro Accepted

AU0306145492 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1300 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] Romania's Government has held its weekly meeting and has adopted the following declaration:

Romania's Government took note of the resolution issued by the UN Security Council on 30 May, according to which economic and other sanctions are instituted against Serbia and Montenegro. The respective measures were adopted in accordance with Chapter Seven of the UN Charter, which presupposes the obligation of all UN member and nonmember states to implement.

The Romanian Government regrets the fact that the efforts that have been made so far within the CSCE, the Common Market, and the United Nations to stop the armed confrontation and settle the Yugoslav crisis through political means have not led to the expected results, thus resulting in the adoption of these sanctions which profoundly affect primarily the population that is already under such pressure from the effects of the conflict.

Devoted to the principles of strict respect for international law by all states and of finding solutions to conflicts and all other international disagreements exclusively through peaceful means, Romania will respect the UN decisions.

Likewise, the Romanian Government wishes to declare unequivocally that the application of the provisions of this resolution will have very serious consequences for Romania, given the history of broad commercial and economic cooperation relations between the two neighboring countries. In this respect, the government is examining the direct and indirect impact of these measures on Romania, also taking into consideration the fact that these measures will be added to the very great damage—over 3 billion dollars—caused to the Romanian economy by the application of other sanctions that the UN Security Council decided in previous well known situations, in particular the Gulf conflict, without receiving any compensation, in spite of the repeated appeals that Romania addressed to the UN Security Council.

Dependent on this examination, the Romanian Government reserves its right to present the UN Security Council, on the basis of Article 50 of the UN Charter, the effects that the application of these sanctions have on the Romanian economy, asking for adequate compensation without which Romania, which considers itself a loyal UN member, will become itself the victim in this application of UN sanctions.

Again, the Romanian Government calls on all sides involved in the conflict to continue negotiations in good faith and to halt all hostilities as soon as possible and ensure a climate of peaceful coexistence. Likewise, the Romanian Government calls on all states and international bodies to intensify their efforts in the same direction, to be able to lift the sanctions as soon as possible.

Iliescu Sees 'Positive Signals' in U.S. Ties

AU0306130192 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1124 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 3/6/1992—In an interview with daily TINERETUL LIBER, Romania's president said with reference to the U.S. behaviour towards Romania: "the U.S. Administration considers that all disagreements are gone. I have noted the American party's determination to start a new page in our relationships, free of any kind of reserve." Of the signals given in this sense, the Romanian head of state noted President Bush's decision to forward to Congress the proposal for the granting of the most-favoured-nation status, the conclusion of the commercial agreement, the signing of the treaty of promoting and guaranteeing investments, the decision of participation in 1992 in the setting up of the credit fund for Romania on behalf of the Group of 24. "Positive signals that speak of an open, congenial, encouraging position."

Asked whether the West was further conditioning a more generous opening to Romania on the organization of legislative and presidential elections this summer, President Iliescu said: "Even if there were some conditioning, I believe our national dignity would impose that we should treat them correspondingly. We want to build on an internal plane and in international relations alike, a democratic framework for the political life and for dignified relations with all countries. Even if some think otherwise they cannot afford to say it, because this would mean a flagrant violation of a democratic behaviour."

Ministry Spokesman Discusses Dniester Region

AU0306202592 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1930 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 3/6/1992—The evolution of the conflict on the left bank of the Dniester held pride of place on the agenda of the weekly news conference of the Foreign Ministry spokesman, Ambassador Traian Chebeleu, held on Wednesday, June 3.

Highlighting that the past week had been relatively calm, the Foreign Ministry spokesman showed that "the number of refugees from the Moldovan villages on the left bank of the Dniester increased, over 18,000 people being registered in the Republic of Moldova alone. At the same time, sources noted a consolidation of the positions occupied by guardists with military technique supplied by the 14th Army. No actions showing a beginning of withdrawal of the armored cars of the 14th Army from their positions have been registered."

On the measures for a peaceful settlement of the conflict it was showed that all the parties concerned wished to ensure the success of the mission of the military

observers in Dniester region and that that action be a model for other points of confrontation as well.

Answering a question on the reasons for the postponement of the meeting of the foreign and defense ministers of the Republic of Moldova, Romania, Russia and Ukraine that was due to take place in Chisinau on May 29 the Foreign Ministry spokesman said the initiative belonged to the Foreign Ministry of Moldova which gave no special reason. He also stressed that by no means was Romania to be excluded from talks as several newspapers wrote and that it seemed that the Russian Foreign Ministry needed more time to prepare the meeting of the four foreign ministers.

Informing that a delegation of the Foreign Ministry at head with Adrian Nastase will attend a meeting of the NATO Cooperation Council due in Norway's capital city on June 4, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said that Romania attached special importance to a dynamic development of its partnership relations with NATO and its member countries and was of the opinion that, through its content and final results the Oslo meeting would mark a new stage on the path of dialogue, consultations and cooperation among partner countries.

Roman Calls For Government With Clear Mandate

AU0206124492 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 23-25 May 92 pp 1, 2

[Article by National Salvation Front leader Petre Roman: "Let Us Clarify the Political Situation"]

[Text] In recent months, after the National Convention of the National Salvation Front [FSN], which proved that we are, above all, a great political force promoting democracy in our country and that the program we have adopted displays both our ability and will to devote ourselves to general interests, we have been confronted with both dishonest and mendacious attacks. Those who have left the FSN because they were unable to be convincing and to win the just and democratic struggle are proving to be the advocates of the past. They use the methods of the past. They misconstrue words, and they misconstrue facts. They do not propose anything that might suggest that they are able to contribute to our country's progress. And this when?

At such a difficult time for all of us, when we have to go through and successfully emerge from the transition to a market economy that will pave the way to prosperity;

At a time when we are faced daily by the problem of coming up with genuine solutions so that we can make headway and people can say that their work is not in vain, that it does not mean suffering, but a better life;

At a time when we believe that there is no greater goal than to overcome differences and ensure national disunity;

And at a time when we have to get back the spirit with which we overthrew the dictatorship and crushed oppression.

We, the FSN, have said, and I repeat, that we do not lie to the nameless masses. We address each man. This is clearly stipulated in our political program.

To say today—as was done in the past—that "we trust the workers class" is a demagogic statement. Because we emphatically affirm that this trust is within the Romanian people, within each citizen of our country.

To be at the side of the workers today means to recognize that in the current economic organization their concrete situation is difficult and that during the transition period from a system in which we were lied to for 45 years to a system in which they may capitalize on their profession, capability, and initiative, we need an economic policy that is able to offer them genuine solutions.

To be at the side of the farmers today means to recognize that, after they regained their ancestral right to own land, this right has to be guaranteed and strengthened through an agricultural policy that will enable the new landowners to till their lands and achieve honest prices for the fruits of their work.

To be at the side of the intellectuals, students, and pupils today means to know that only by acquiring culture and improving it throughout the country will we be able to build a modern society.

And we will fight against being lured into responding to mendacious accusations. Such as, for example, the biggest one: the leaning toward the monarchy. I want to say just one thing: Our option, that of the National Salvation Front, for a republic is a democratic one, while the republican option of those who accuse us is identical with the one of the communist ideology.

It is important and urgent to clarify the political situation in our country. For, as our country's Constitution stipulates, the one that is responsible for the proper progress of the country's affairs is the government, which—in order to apply the laws and to implement a program for economic recovery—has to have authority. In a democracy, this authority can be ensured only through the people's trust on the basis of the vote whereby the parliament is formed. Therefore, we need a new parliament very urgently. A new parliament means a genuine chance for national consensus if each democratic political force is devoted to the country's interests.

We, each citizen of this country, have to know a simple and painful fact: At this time, when the economy can no longer function in the former system and the new system has not been established yet, it is imperatively and vitally necessary to have the support of international financial institutions. This support is directly linked to a government that has been invested with authority and it is linked to a new parliament.

These are the laws of democracy and no one in the democratic world disregards them.

As far as we are concerned, the FSN proposes solutions for a new government in its "Future-Today" program.

The instruments of a government are—and cannot be other than—an efficient organization of the economy while constantly developing the free market and initiative. And its purpose is to implement a program of social balance, so that during this transition period, during which we are still poor, no one will be neglected.

FDSN Group Wants Election Date Postponed

AU0306202692 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1948 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 3/6/1992—The Senate decided to start debating the results of the Mediation Commission in settling divergencies on the bill for the election of the Chamber of Deputies and of the Senate on Monday, June 8.

The decision was made by vote after the parliamentary groups in that legislative forum set forth their points of view. During the debates the existing divergencies got more marked. As is known, the Chamber of Deputies debated the same bill adopting a form almost entirely different from that of the Senate.

On the other hand, the Senate did not manage to set the date for the debate of the report of the Mediation Commission on the settlement of the divergencies on the bill for the election of Romania's president. As neither the Mediation Commission reached a common point of view on the only article not agreed upon, it decided that the article be debated by the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate in a joint session.

According to the text passed by the Chamber of Deputies presidential election would have to take place concomitantly with the parliamentary elections on July 26.

On the possibility that elections be held on July 26 several senators, most of them of the Democratic National Salvation Front [FDSN], hinted they did not agree with that date pleading for their postponement for autumn.

United Democratic Convention Set for Elections

AU0306112692 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 26 May 92 p 4

["Communique" by the United Democratic Convention; place and date of issue not given]

[Text] The Radical Civic Union Party, the Conservative-Monarchist Party-Democratic Convention, the National Democratic Party for Justice, the Christian and Justice Party, the Romanian House of Democratic Europe, and the Democratic League for Justice have agreed to take joint action to set up an election alliance of the United Democratic Convention with a view to the coming parliamentary and presidential elections.

The United Democratic Convention is acting to:

—Establish a democratic and prosperous society in Romania on the basis of the specific values of democracy and to ensure full equality for all citizens under the Constitution and our country's laws;

—Achieve national reconciliation through national unity and harmony;

—Eliminate the causes leading to the deterioration of the national economy by guaranteeing each citizen a job and civilized life, by curbing poverty, and by exercising the right to own land and privatized national capital;

—Guarantee full freedoms for the individual and collective human rights on the basis of universally recognized rights and freedoms;

—Eradicate corruption, influence peddling, and any form of downgrading inter-human relations; and

—Ensure the territorial integrity of the Romanian state in accordance with its 1938 borders.

The convention proposes to nominate a candidate for the position of president of Romania and advocates the simultaneous holding of parliamentary and presidential elections in July this year.

The United Democratic Convention is open to all parties and non-party formations that accept its statute and minimal program.

Its electoral symbol is a "house"—the symbol of the human community and the universe of the family that expresses Romanians' desire to be master in their own country and own house.

Further information is available at 10, Iovita Street, Bl. P 13, Floor 1, Sector 5, Bucharest, telephone: 31 35 54.

1. Radical Civic Union Party—President Gheorghe Obreja.

2. Conservative-Monarchist Party-Democratic Convention—President Alexandru Naniu.

3. National Democratic Party for Justice—President Florin Flaminzeanu.

4. Christian and Justice Party—President Petre Dusmanu.

5. Romanian House of Democratic Europe—President Mihail Cindea-Muscel.

6. Democratic League for Justice—President Gheorghe Raileanu.

[Signed] Gheorghe Obreja, general secretary of the United Democratic Convention

Patriciu, Boroianu Withdraw From Party Leadership

AU0306112192 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1006 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 3/6/1992—Dinu Patriciu and Radu Boroianu announced their temporary withdrawal from the leadership of the Liberal Party - Young Wing.

Dinu Patriciu, deputy, member of the Steering Committee of the young liberals' party, requested his withdrawal from that office following the "array of accusations, resumed on a higher plane, before the election campaign," which would be detrimental to the party. As for Radu Boroianu, he motivated it in his health condition and his wish to appropriately continue his activity as a state secretary in the Ministry of Culture.

Article Examines Causes of UDMR Victory

AU0306184092 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 28 May 92 pp 1, 3

[Ion Coja, vice president of the Vatra Romaneasca Union, signed article: "The Moment of Truth in Tirgu Mures"]

[Excerpts] The results of the Tirgu Mures mayoral elections cannot be regarded—as some people hastily did—as a defeat of "the Romanians" and a victory of "the Hungarians," without running the risk of interpreting political events at the lowest possible level. On the contrary, if we try to make a collected assessment of that Tirgu Mures event, we will be able to anticipate that the candidate who most deserved and fit the disputed office has won in that electoral competition. Indeed, the image we have of the winner is pretty much like: Mr. Victor Nagy—if one can rely on the accuracy of broadcast pictures by television—seems to be credible as a mayor and a sane man, which should be appreciated in times like these.

Some comments coming from friends and acquaintances living in Tirgu Mures confirmed that image made at "first glance." This is a positive image, which is a very comforting thought for the peace of this country of ours. [passage omitted]

The same event has happened to the Vatra Romaneasca Union, especially in Tirgu Mures—unfortunately in Tirgu Mures, to be more precise—which also happened to our poor December revolution: Its content and meaning has been twisted and turned until they became the opposite of the original ones, being directed even against the very persons that had initiated it. *Consequently, currently there is not one founding member functioning in the Tirgu Mures organization of the Vatra Romaneasca!* [passage omitted]

The fact that Vatra Romaneasca founding members—high school teachers, university professors, officers, judges, physicians, and engineers—have been excluded or resigned from that organization also proves a more important and serious matter. It proves how much wrong can be done to our country if the national idea falls into the hands of a bunch of mediocre, ambitious, and unscrupulous climbers. The idea of national interest—so often mentioned after the Revolution, especially connected to Tirgu Mures—has been discredited in the eyes of that town's citizens by people who agitated it more often and more passionately while speaking either in the Polivalent Hall in Tirgu Mures or in Parliament in Bucharest. While voicing that idea, every one of those people was actually trying to hide his lack of professional competence and moral value, and trying to get rich overnight after the Revolution.

That is why most of the honest citizens of Tirgu Mures—who were prepared to die to defend the Romanian character of life in their town in spring 1990—now, in May 1992, did not even bother to come down from their second or third floor apartments and go over to the other side of the street, into the school where the ballot boxes were. Thus, the most important, interesting, and illuminating result of the Tirgu Mures elections is not the fact that a Hungarian mayor has been elected in a town where Romanian people are in the majority, but the fact—which comes before counting the votes won by Mr. Victor Nagy—that on 25 May there was an extremely low voter participation by the ethnic Romanians! That seems to be the most important aspect, and if we examine that in a lucid way, we could come to most useful conclusions. [passage omitted]

Izetbegovic Promises Safe Passage for Cadets

LD0406063192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0547 GMT 4 Jun 92

[Text] Sarajevo, June 4 (TANJUG)—Alija Izetbegovic, the president of the presidency of war-torn Bosnia-Hercegovina, on Wednesday [3 June] night promised a group of parents, whose sons are Yugoslav Army cadets and soldiers stranded in an Army barracks in Sarajevo, that their children would be allowed to leave the military facility.

Izetbegovic and Bosnia-Hercegovina Defence Minister Jerko Doko made the promise on behalf of the republic's presidency, from which the representatives of Serbs have walked out.

Several hundred cadets, boys aged from 14 to 17, are stranded in the barracks held under siege by the Muslim-Croat forces in Sarajevo.

A six-member delegation of the cadets' and soldiers' parents arrived in Sarajevo on Wednesday, after receiving a reply from Izetbegovic that they can come to the capital of Bosnia-Hercegovina and take their children home.

Doko Urges Foreign Counterparts To Take Action

AU0306115492 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] The Bosnia-Hercegovina defense minister has sent a letter to his colleagues from all UN member-countries, in which he says that despite the fact that the aggressor in Bosnia-Hercegovina had been identified, and the [words indistinct] resolution of the UN Security Council, attacks against our republic continue unabated. [Word indistinct] in some regions, brutality and terror are increasing, with the latest example being Prijedor, where terrorists helped by the former Yugoslav Army have perpetrated many evil deeds.

The letter by Minister Jerko Doko says that about 80,000 soldiers and officers of the former Yugoslav People's Army have stayed in the republic and simply call themselves the army of the Serbian people, although they should have already withdrawn from Bosnia-Hercegovina. [Words indistinct] of the republic, a large quantity of weapons have been kept, including about 30 aircraft, several hundred tanks and heavy weapons. This is why Doko warns other governments to take all possible steps toward stopping this evilness. Otherwise, war may spread wider in the Balkans and even into Europe.

It is therefore necessary to unite all [words indistinct] and specific military activities against the aggressor, concludes the letter.

Bosnian Serb Prime Minister Views Negotiations

92BA0954A Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 22 May 92 p 15

[Interview with Dr. Branko Ceric, prime minister of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, by Jovan Janjic; place and date not given: "The Only Solution—An Agreement"]

[Text] These days, the government of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina [B-H] is confronting many problems of vital importance to the Serbian people in this republic. The most important thing, nevertheless, is securing the peace. How? Dr. Branko Ceric, who is otherwise a professor in the School of Economics at Sarajevo University, answers the question:

"The situation can be expected to calm down when all political factors realize that the only true solution is a peaceful solution of the crisis in B-H. I must say, however, that this is exactly where the greatest problems exist."

[Janjic] There is no agreement. Why?

[Ceric] Because it is evident that territorial ambitions and claims are greater than can be achieved by any peaceful solution and agreement. I think that is the key problem. As a matter of fact, a peaceful solution does not suit Mr. Izetbegovic, because then he can count only on his own constituent unit, which will be objectively far smaller than he imagines or than his closest collaborators imagined. It should be borne in mind in this connection that any limitation or drawing of boundaries of the Muslim constituent unit signifies a barrier to the spread of Islam. And Izetbegovic has committed himself to the spread of Islam, and he has obtained help in doing this from the relevant international factors, that is, from certain countries, above all Islamic countries well-known for terror, such as Iran and Libya.

[Janjic] Could Bosnia-Hercegovina become a unitary state?

[Ceric] It will never be that again. The solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina should be seen above all in demarcation of the ethnic communities, and that in every respect. Meaning—in the economic, in the territorial, in the political, spiritual, and other senses. That is the key to a solution—demarcation. The problems which have grown up over the years and decades have objectively led to the necessity of a restructuring of Bosnia-Hercegovina as a state. This is nothing new. In the final analysis, we find ourselves in the last decade of the 20th century, when everything is being restructured, when restructuring is taking place in enterprises and, if you like, even the social services and government administration. Accordingly, even the state must be restructured. The former unitary B-H as well. The misfortune is that this is being done in this way, through war.

[Janjic] Right on the eve of recognition of B-H as an independent state by the EC and United States, the

Serbian Republic of B-H was proclaimed, its Constitution was promulgated, and the institutions of that republic were set up. Does the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina function as a state at this moment?

[Ceric] The Serbian Republic of B-H is the only governmental entity functioning in the true sense on the territory of the former Bosnia-Hercegovina. It is functioning not only in the organizational or normative sense, but, I would say, it is functioning in the sense of the actual state of affairs. It is evident even to the naked eye that Serbian Bosnia-Hercegovina is functioning. Law and order prevails on the territory of Serbian B-H, institutions exist which guarantee that order. In a number of new pieces of legislation we completed the legal system or rounded it out as much as possible; that is, we have built on to that legal system.

[Janjic] Will you seek international recognition of the Serbian Republic of B-H?

[Ceric] We have all the elements of statehood. There is the Serbian people as well as other nationalities, there is authority that is functioning, and we also possess territory. To be sure, this territory has not been completely defined as yet. There is a part of the territory which we can denote as in dispute, which we are disputing with other ethnic communities. Our commitment has been to seek recognition, and we will do this when the time is right.

[Janjic] What percentage of Bosnia-Hercegovina does the Serbian Republic of B-H embrace?

[Ceric] According to some reckonings, somewhere about 64 percent. This does not mean that in negotiations concerning a peaceful solution of the crisis in B-H we will insist on that 64 percent at any price. We are prepared for certain progressive compromises, but certainly not compromises that would radically diminish the territory of Serbian B-H. We are ready to talk about certain disputed areas and in this respect we will offer an exchange of appropriate territory, all of this toward the goal of securing peace once and for all in these parts, that is, of demarcation of these three ethnic communities as separate territories and separate states.

[Janjic] What kind of relations will the Serbian Republic of B-H build with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Serbian Republic Krajina?

[Ceric] Fraternal.

[Janjic] And with the rest of Bosnia-Hercegovina?

[Ceric] However we agree.

[Janjic] How did the Serbs in B-H perceive proclamation of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia?

[Ceric] I am often asked that. In an emotional sense, it hit us hard. However, you know that emotions do not conduct policy, but when emotions and an emotional view of formation of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia are involved, then we are also thinking of the future. The Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina is aware not only of the gravity of its situation, but also of the gravity of the situation of the rest of the Serbian people. We are very careful not to place Serbia and Montenegro in an aggravated position by our behavior. At the same time, a strong Yugoslavia, that is, a strong Serbia and Montenegro, are an important guarantee for both peaceful and prosperous development of the Serbian people in Serbian Bosnia-Hercegovina.

[Janjic] Immediately following adoption of the decision of the Presidency of Yugoslavia on withdrawal of the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] from B-H, the Assembly of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina adopted a decision to form its own armed force. Can the security of the Serbian Republic of B-H be preserved?

[Ceric] Yes. We thought it over for a long time, and then decided to establish our own army, the army of the Serbian Republic of B-H. There is nothing strange in that or anything that could surprise anyone. Every state has an army which will protect its borders and its constitutional order. We do not feel that in doing this we could jeopardize talks about a peaceful solution.

[Janjic] How do you see the further development of events in Bosnia-Hercegovina?

[Ceric] I hope, and this is more a desire, that we will have to sit down at the negotiating table, that our partners in the former B-H will have to come to their senses, because this is a question of guidance of a people and taking into account the interests of their own people, not personal ambitions and those of leaders. If that kind of attitude should not prevail, then that would represent a great danger to all the nationalities on the territory of the former B-H.

Tito Barracks, Airport Talks Resume in Sarajevo

LD0406123992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1105 GMT 4 Jun 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 4 Jun (TANJUG)—Talks between the authorities of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the Yugoslav Army on the evacuation of the Marshal Tito Army barracks resumed today at the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] building in Sarajevo. The sides taking part in the negotiations are also expected to discuss the demilitarization of the airport and the area around it.

Serbs Say Airport May Reopen Under UN Control

LD0406082492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0725 GMT 4 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, June 4 (TANJUG)—The Serb authorities in war-torn Bosnia-Hercegovina would agree to the opening of Sarajevo Airport for humanitarian and civilian flights under the supervision of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), reported

SRNA, the news agency of Serbs in this former Yugoslav republic, on Wednesday night [3 June].

Citing a statement issued by the Presidency of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina after talks with UNPROFOR officials, SRNA said a pre-condition for opening the airport was that it not be used by either side for any kind of military purposes.

Describing the talks with UNPROFOR representatives as satisfactory, the Presidency of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina said Sarajevo Airport would be under the "supervision of the United Nations forces."

The Serb authorities have called on all airport officials to immediately report to the UNPROFOR headquarters so that the airport could be reopened and put into service as soon as possible.

Uzice Troops Pull Out of Visegrad Region

AU0306191792 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 May 92 p 4

[Dj. Pilcevic report: "Territorial Defense Guarantees Peace and Safety"]

[Text] Visegrad—After a month, after bringing peace to the citizens of Visegrad and the people of the municipality, the units of the Uzice Corps have definitely pulled out of the wider Visegrad region, and returned to the territory of the Republic of Serbia.

The withdrawal of the units of the Uzice Corps has caused consternation to a number of people of both nationalities, whose representatives have been coming to the command of the Uzice Corps, and, according to the commander, Major-General Dragoljub Ojdanic, have been begging and demanding that the army stay in the area.

When the withdrawal of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] units from Visegrad was announced, most Muslims fled the region in fear of the return of Muslim extremists, but also in fear of revenge by Serbian extremists.

After the withdrawal of the JNA, all the positions and points which were guarded by the army units, have been taken over by units of the territorial defense of the Serbian municipality of Visegrad, who will, they say, together with Serbian volunteers and the police force, maintain peace in that region.

The territorial defense headquarters, the police force of the Serbian municipality of Visegrad and the war presidency have all appealed to the people not to believe disinformation that with the withdrawal of the JNA there is a possibility of the return of the "Green Berets" and other military formations. The police and the territorials guarantee full safety to all, regardless of nationality. The command of the territorial defense of the Serbian municipality of Visegrad has called on all army conscripts who left Visegrad to return because a general mobilization has been declared.

Industry has been turned to war conditions in Visegrad. The town is without international telephone lines, and two days ago the local telephone lines broke down, all of which adds to the anxiety of the people.

Territorials Pushing Serb Forces Out of Tuzla

AU0306192392 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 3 June 92

[Salih Brkic report from Tuzla]

[Excerpts] Tuzla was peaceful today, but only regarding its town section, which also was often exposed to enemy's grenade attacks, as the fighters of the Tuzla Territorial Defense [words indistinct] pushing the Serbian—Chetnik terrorist forces further away from this town.

The situation is similar in the nearby communes. The Kalesija territorials have already completely surrounded the Chetnik formations near the village of Brizici, but the final destruction of this enemy stronghold is still being delayed because of the loathsome act that they committed. Namely, the Chetniks positioned some 300 Brizici villagers in front of them as a human barrier. [passage omitted]

The battles are being fought almost daily in the Lukavac region, especially in Vijenac, where the Lukavac territorials have been destroying Chetnik strongholds one by one. [passage omitted]

Bradina Serbs Tortured by Croat, Muslim Extremists

LD0406111292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0506 GMT 4 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, June 4 (TANJUG)—After breaking out of an encirclement by about 2,000 Croat and Moslem extremists, a group of Serbs who defended the village of Bradina, south of Sarajevo, reached the city of Sarajevo's municipality of Ilidza, the SRNA news agency of Serbs living in Bosnia-Hercegovina reported Wednesday [3 June] evening.

Divided into several minor groups, the Serb defenders started for a breakthrough but a large number of women and children, they said, remained behind with an uncertain fate. Many Serbs are still being kept captive in Bradina's primary school, subjected to tortures, the SRNA quoted eyewitnesses now at the Spa of Ilidza as saying.

The said group started their breakthrough last Sunday [31 May] morning, the SRNA said. Their march across the mountains of Bjelasnica and Igman took three days and two nights, with no food nor water had.

"There is Bradina no longer," an announcement issued by the Serb municipality of Ilidza information service had it. [sentence as received] The village, "burnt down and destroyed," fell on Monday, June 1, it said.

After conquering the village, the Moslem and Croat forces "gathered in the centre of Bradina in the first night hours all male and female survivals, took off their clothes and, beating them with rifle butts, clubs and rods, forced them to pray" while bowing as Moslems do.

"The seventeen most prominent Serbs got executed by shooting at in the local orthodox church yard," the announcement went on.

The five Serbs left alive had "the crown of Serb kings carved on their foreheads with knives," it claimed, adding that, "next day, all of Bradina's survivors were lumped together in the concentration camp of the nearby town of Konjic."

This camp deserves to be "called a new Auschwitz (Poland's Oswiecim in World War Two)" by reason of tortures they experienced in it, the survivals said.

The Moslem-Croat forces besieged the village of Bradina in the second half of May and launched their offensive on May 28.

Witness Gives Account of Destruction in Bihac

AU0206115392 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 May 92 p 5

["E.B.N." report: "Dynamite-Earthquake Under Pljesevica"]

[Text] The airport and base in Bihac—one of the most expensive, strategically most important, and most valuable installations of the army and its air force—no longer exist, at least not as a functional installation that anybody will be able to use in years to come without some serious "renovation." Early in the morning of 16 May, almost everything that had been built from 1958 to 1968 was destroyed.

It is impossible to estimate even the approximate damage but, according to some assessments, the total value of the airport and the infrastructure (mostly "buried" under Pljesevica) amounted to $4-6 billion. Unofficially, the greater part of the equipment had, by force of circumstances, earlier been transported to alternative airports in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and that is where, during the past month, the airplanes had also flown—about 70 MIG 21's, and a squadron of scout planes of the Jastreb type. BORBA has an opportunity to report the impressions of one (understandably anonymous) member of the army, who, six hours after the mining, managed to take shots with an amateur camera of the destroyed airport near Bihac.

"While some 20 specially trained members of the ministry of internal affairs of the Republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK] were waiting, on 16 May, at the first control point in front of Bihac Airport near Zeljava, to enter the installation to take it over, we heard, at 0540 hours, the sound of the alarm siren. At 0555 hours, we saw a Yugoslav People's Army helicopter rising above the airport, and at 0600 the first explosions started, which indicates that the explosives were detonated by remote control from the helicopter."

This part of the mystery surrounding the destruction of the air base near Bihac was revealed to BORBA by a witness, who is, by the way, a member of the army (he asked to remain anonymous for obvious reasons).

BORBA's source, who, as he says, could only see the surface installations (the others were inaccessible owing to the presence of carbon monoxide), explains how all five runways were destroyed, and that there were craters in them at every 50 meters, each one meter deep and five to six meters wide. The asphalt surface was completely destroyed, but the concrete beneath was undamaged, expect in the places where the craters were. One can only guess about the state of the underground hangars and corridors after the mining. Our witness estimates that, despite all the destruction, the airport "is only incapacitated, for a longer time, yes, but it could still be repaired." He also says that he does not believe that the underground levels are totally destroyed, because they have walls two meters thick made of reinforced concrete, and the metal framework itself is 35 to 40 millimeters thick.

"Before the mining, and the promised takeover by the ministry of internal affairs of the RSK, all aircraft technology was evacuated from the area of the airport, and the equipment belonging to the Federal directorate for flight control, which was also there," our source says. But the fact that the Corps building was demolished during the preparations for the transport of equipment showed that the manner of handing over the airport to the ministry of foreign affairs of the RSK was different from other such actions. Also, up till 16 May, when the takeover was agreed, none of the members of [RSK police commander] "Martic's" police, nor people from surrounding villages who worked at the airport, were allowed into the area. As we found out unofficially yesterday, the only undamaged army installation in the function of the air force is the radar base on Pljesevica.

"The people from surrounding Serbian villages see the destruction of the airport as an act of betrayal. The explanation that it was done because the airport was surrounded by strong forces of the Territorial Defense of Bosnia-Hercegovina does not "wash," because, they say, "it simply is not true." But Bihac Airport has (had) its attractions for all "sides," and its defense would have been too difficult a task even for an army much stronger than the armed police force of the RSK, our witness tells us.

Everything connected with the airport and base under Pljesevica was, until yesterday, kept as a top military secret. However, it was known that, in the underground

tunnels, whose total length was about 4 or 5 kilometers, there was all that was needed for a command operations center—hangars for 70 fighter planes and a squadron of scout planes, an automatic telephone exchange, relay and radio receiving center, "war accommodation" for the command and operations force—a canteen, a clinic for medical check-ups of pilots, even memorial rooms of war units whose traditions were followed by the airmen under Pljesevica. And, of course, warehouses full of weaponry, ammunition, rockets, bombs, and other such "trivialities" that are needed for the functioning of an installation like this, both in war, and in peace time, conditions.

A month and a half ago, while BORBA's reporters were in Bihac, they were allowed to film the "working atmosphere" on the runways, and talk to the pilots, mechanics, and the staff of the base. Nobody thought then that the defense of the airport would mean destroying it. This is confirmed by the fact that Bihac became the center of the Fifth Corps of the RV and PVO [yugoslav air force and yugoslav air defense force], which had been moved from Zagreb at the end of last year. At the time, the demands from the headquarters of the Croatian army (from Colonel Imro Agotic, formerly officer in the Yugoslav People's Army) that the airport should be divided were described in the leadership of the RV and PVO as "absolutely unfeasible." Agotic based his demand on a (up to this day unclear) "detail," according to which more than two thirds of the airport was on the territory of Croatia (now controlled by the RSK).

Bihac Airport, or what is left of it, is still controlled by the RSK. Its fate is unknown, but one thing is clear—it will be a long time before it can be used again, either for military or civilian purposes. The madness of war has struck yet another "victim," which will lead to many others, "easily" explainable, but not easily understood.

[Box]

Attractive Property

"The remaining property at the airport is attractive also to the people from the villages in neighboring Cazin Krajina, and there have been many disappearances (an unknown number) of three-barrelled anti-aircraft guns, which were stored next to runway four (on the very border between the Serbian and Cazin Krajinas), BORBA's says, adding that, near the same runway, he also noticed several deserted vehicles which "should not have been there."

Government Requests 'Urgent' Military Intervention

LD0306204592 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] The Croatian Government has requested an urgent military intervention by NATO or European forces, Darko Bekic, Croatia's permanent representative to the CSCE, said at the plenary session of that international organization in Helsinki. This move, Bekic said, would be directed toward demolishing the enemy's artillery batteries and the airports from which the Serb-controlled Yugo-army continues to launch attacks on city centers and infrastructure in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina. He said that the blockade of the southern Adriatic ports, the Danube, air transport, and road and railway approaches to Serbia and Montenegro is very important for preventing the illegal importation of arms and goods. Bekic also said that Croatia has proposed a ministerial meeting of CSCE member countries so that the sanctions against Belgrade, approved by the UN Security Council, could be examined.

Sanctions Against Former Yugoslavia Detailed

LD0306181992 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] As we reported yesterday, the Government of the Republic of Croatia has passed a ruling on the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 757. This ruling obliges state administrative bodies as well as all other legal and private entities to implement sanctions regarding the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia; that is, Serbia and Montenegro.

Ministries were tasked with issuing orders to implement this resolution in their respective fields of responsibility. The most important moves are as follows:

The order by Jurica Malcic, deputy minister of justice and administration, bans the exploitation and mortgaging of properties in the Republic of Croatia that are owned, or used by authorization, by citizens of the so-called Yugoslavia. As long as this ban is in effect, they must not sell, swap, grant, transfer usage rights, rent or temporarily lease, mortgage, or in any similar way manage the properties they own or are entitled to use. This order will be implemented as an official matter by land registry offices. Any legal deal struck in contravention of this ruling will be rendered null and void.

Finance Minister Jozo Martinovic has banned legal and private entities from Yugoslavia that have dinar-based and other funds and outstanding debts on the basis of financial relations and dealing with goods and other relations in the Republic of Croatia from accessing these funds, debts, and rights or transferring them to other legal and private entities in the Republic of Croatia or outside the Republic of Croatia.

Transportation Minister Josip Bozicevic's ruling bans powered vehicles and rail cars legally registered in Yugoslavia from entering the Republic of Croatia. Minister Bozicevic's ruling also bans all aircraft listed on the register of aircraft of the Republic of Croatia from transporting goods and products originating from Yugoslavia. It also bans all aircraft from taking off from Croatia, or flying through the Republic of Croatia's airspace, toward Yugoslavia or from landing in the event of flights from that territory unless a flight has been authorized by the committee founded by the decision of Resolution 724; that is, a flight for humanitarian and other purposes in keeping with the UN Security Council's resolutions.

The minister of transport and communications also has banned ships legally belonging to the state of Yugoslavia from sailing into the inner waters [nutarnje vode] of the Republic of Croatia regardless of their owner's citizenship or domicile.

The Croatian mail and telecommunication networks are banned under Minister Bozicevic's order from sending to Yugoslavia postal items containing goods, valuables, or money.

Trade Minister Branko Miksa's ruling bans legal and private entities from Yugoslavia from investing in enterprises and other legal and private entities and operations in the Republic of Croatia. The minister of trade also has issued another ruling whereby a ban is placed on the exportation and sending of services and goods from the Republic of Croatia to Yugoslavia as well as on the importation of goods and services originating in Yugoslavia. There also is a ban on striking deals leading to such business.

Minister of Maritime Affairs Davorin Rudolf has banned ships legally owned by Yugoslavia from sailing into the territorial waters [obalno more] and ports in the Republic of Croatia.

In his ruling, Minister of Tourism Anton Marcelo Popovic bans travel agents, carriers, and tourist organizations from the so-called Yugoslavia from operating in the Republic of Croatia.

Jure Radic, minister of science, tecnology, and information sciences, has issued a ruling banning every kind of science, professional, and technological cooperation; the organization of scientific and professional conferences; and publishing activities and participation in research projects on the part of citizens of Yugoslavia.

Vesna Djirardi Jurkic, minister of education, culture, and sport, has issued a ruling banning legal and private entities and organizers of competitions and championships held in the Republic of Croatia from enabling Yugoslavia's competitors, sport clubs, and national teams from taking part in these competitions.

The government's ruling as well as the rulings of the responsible ministries have been published in the OFFICIAL GAZETTE and introduced with immediate effect, according to a communique from the Ministry of Information.

Serbian Krajina Sends Support Telegram to FRY

LD0206200192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1853 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] June 2 (TANJUG)—The Government of the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) on Tuesday [2 June] sent a telegram of support to the Yugoslav leadership in its resistance to unjust accusations and sanctions imposed by the U.N. Security Council.

"We support the just struggle for the physical survival of the Serb people in the entire territory of former Yugoslavia," says the telegram.

The break-up of Yugoslavia has split the Serb people, against their will, into three states. A total of 2.5 million Serbs have been left outside the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] because theirs was the only nation which has denied the exercise of its right to self-determination. Contrary to international [word indistinct], the United States and the European Community recognized this right only to the nations which have opted for secession from Yugoslavia.

After the secession from Yugoslavia of the republics of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia, the Serbs and Montenegrins have decided to continue living in a single state—the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

"To survive the current blockade and military-political pressure is not to win a battle, but to win the war," the RSK Government told the Yugoslav leadership.

The RSK has been formed by the Serb people in three regions within the former administrative boundaries of Croatia, after the republic seceded from Yugoslavia. The RSK territory is now protected by U.N. peacekeepers. Under a plan designed by Cyrus Vance, local and Yugoslav laws will apply in the RSK until its status has been resolved through talks.

The RSK Government says that the overall situation in Krajina has deteriorated since the Security Council's decision to impose a total blockade on Yugoslavia.

Encouraged by this move and Croatia's admission to the United Nations, Croatian authorities are openly threatening to regain the Serb-populated areas by force, so that armed clashes are becoming increasingly frequent.

All this has aggravated the situation in terms of security, the RSK Government says and adds that the economic situation too has deteriorated because of shortages of oil derivatives, electricity, foodstuffs and other goods.

Serbian Krajina Recognizes Dniester Republic

LD0306165992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1540 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Jun (TANJUG)—The Government of the Republic of Serbian Krajina today recognized the independence and sovereignty of the Dniester Republic.

The message which Borivoj Rasuo, foreign minister of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, sent to his counterpart in the Dniester Republic expresses the hope for long-lasting and friendly relations between the two republics.

The message which was sent to TANJUG says that the Republic of Serbian Krajina will soon send its representative to the Dniester Republic in order to reach agreements regarding issues of vital mutual interest.

Torbica To Head Defense Forces of Serb Krajina

LD0406123292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1107 GMT 4 Jun 92

[Text] Knin, 4 Jun (TANJUG)—Colonel General Milan Torbica, commander of the headquarters of the territorial defense of the Republic of Serb Krajina, has taken over the command of the defense forces of Krajina.

Assuming this command, he congratulated the soldiers and officers of the Knin Corps who have, as he put it, honorably carried out all tasks in defending Krajina's territory.

In taking command over the Serb army in Krajina, General Torbica appealed for the unity of Krajina inhabitants as a precondition for the defense of—as he stressed—"every inch of our Republic."

Possible Confederation With Bosnia Examined

92BA0954B Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 23 May 92 p 12

[Article by Milan Jajcinovic: "Collapse of the Policy of 'Equal Distance'"]

[Text] If one is to judge by the recent agreement between representatives of the SDA [Democratic Action Party] and HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] of B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina], then that agreement reached in Split represents a new and even unexpected era in Croatian-Muslim relations. The possibility of a confederal relationship between Croatia and B-H—which was the subject matter of the agreement—has not only aroused surprise, it has also raised quite a few questions. First of all, what does Croatia gain by this, and what could be harmful to it? And what is actually its interest in a possible confederal alliance?

The Croatian Government has still not officially declared what it thinks about the fundamental idea of the agreement in Split. If we do not take into account the opinion of representatives of the incumbent party, then the silence of the government is an irrefutable sign that it

concurs with what the agreement states. Perhaps still more, that it knew what they would be discussing in Split and what they would agree on. By contrast with the top leadership of Croatia, Alija Izetbegovic, B-H president, said the other day that the Split agreement is acceptable to the Muslims of B-H, and that he has been in favor of something like that almost from the beginning. In the election campaign, there were in fact allusions that B-H might enter a confederation being offered at the time by Croatia and Slovenia. Actually, Izetbegovic was not very loud in "promoting" that option. Following the tripartite agreement of B-H, he altogether abandoned that idea—in the name of peacemaking and the illusion of a "civil republic", offering, together with Kiro Gligorov, a bastard model that would have reconciled the confederal model with Milosevic's conception of Yugoslavia.

Izetbegovic's Political Cartwheel

What caused Alija Izetbegovic to accomplish this mental and political about-face? Undoubtedly the war. But perhaps not even the war itself, but more the brutality and crimes committed against the Muslims. They are so horrifying that they must break down any political prejudice, indeed even the specifically Bosnian illusion that is well-known as idealization of the "neighborhood." It is only recently that Izetbegovic's illusions of that kind have been shattered. Right up until then it was as though he (like a great many others) did not want to believe, or at least not to state in public, that these are mere chimeras that had been long and carefully nurtured. Incidentally, while on the television screen they were showing pictures that might have come from a "hit parade of the surrealists," Izetbegovic, although a hostage of Kukanjac and Karadzic, still saw apparitions of "three sides." Even though Ejub Ganic and Stjepan Kljujic were arguing with him, almost desperately saying: "Alija, there is no third side!" he did not give up so easily his fundamental political principle, the policy of "equal distance."

The agreement in Split completely displaces the long-maintained policy of equal distance, of an equal space of Croats and Serbs and of Croatia and Serbia. When we realize that its most persistent advocate has been Alija Izetbegovic, does this mean that Izetbegovic's future influence on B-H politics will be reduced now that it has been rejected? Or is his metamorphosis nevertheless a case of natural political maturity? If the latter, then this occurred rather rapidly. That is, Dario Kordic, vice president of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosnia, asserted in public the other day that when the attack began on B-H, not only the president of the B-H Presidency, but also its members Stjepan Kljujic and Ejub Ganic were advocates of the theory of "equal distance," and that in one meeting they called for not only Serbia (and its followers), but also (to a lesser extent) Croatia to be proclaimed the aggressor! This is really a surprising assertion. But Kordic says that it "can be proven even from the transcript"!

Split Destroyed Graz

The surprising agreement in Split has also destroyed the effect of the somnambulic spinning bee organized in Graz by Boban and Karadzic. Leaving out all the specific features of the Croatian-Muslim rapprochement in World War II, the Split agreement heralds a new form of alliance that has not been attained since that time. The necessity of creating a military alliance between Bosnian Muslims and Croats, that is, unification of defense under a single command, is recognized at the moment as the most urgent interest. Only thereafter—according to the report—was there discussion of the possibility of a confederal alliance of B-H and Croatia. It seems that both the SDA and HDZ have abandoned the idea of cantonization of B-H. Instead, referring to the results of the referendum on independence, the talk is about a unified republic. A territorially integral and truly independent B-H is also undoubtedly in the interest of Croatia. But are such desires realizable?

It is quite certain that it would not have been possible to bring all of B-H into a confederation with Croatia even if Karadzic's olive-drab gang had not occupied as much as they have. This way, even less. Who is to win over the Serbs of B-H to any kind of alliance with Croatia, especially a confederation? Because anything of that kind—because of the systematically manufactured mental environment (which is only a euphemism for enmity)—is impossible, the question is what actually remains for advocates of a confederation of Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina? The SDS [Serbian Democratic Party] has already marked off what it holds to be its own, and the question is whether even militarily it can be driven to renounce that "property"? The Croats and Muslims of B-H, given this situation, certainly if they decide in a referendum in favor of a confederation with Croatia, are left the areas which the EC marked out as the Muslim and Croatian cantons. Probably the B-H Serbs would have nothing against the Muslims and Croats doing what they like with them (under condition of reciprocity).

"There Is No Third Side"

It is said that the idea of unifying the Muslim and Croatian cantons existed in certain political circles of B-H even back when the idea of cantonization, that is, confederalization of B-H, was relevant. The Split agreement has in a way revived once again the idea of confederalization of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Following Split, nevertheless, it is still unclear how a unified B-H would be maintained and how confederation with Croatia would be accomplished. The hard and absolutely intransigent position of the SDS, saturated with brutality, and the situation on the battlefield suggest the idea that neither side (there is no third) see confederalization of the republic as an alternative. The SDS because it did not manage to grab all of B-H as a dowry for Serbia, and the SDA and HDZ because they do not have control (and it would be hard for them to reestablish it) over the entire space of the republic.

The world will probably have a hard time swallowing a possible division of a state which it recently recognized. If it does agree, it will probably be according to the formula of confederations within a confederation, i.e., that B-H be confederal (formally integral), and then the Serbian part would enter into a confederal alliance with Serbia, and the Croatian and Muslim parts with Croatia. In that way, the world would perhaps preserve its political principles, and at the same time it would satisfy the ethnic aspirations of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Perhaps a political compromise would be created in that way, an appearance of tripartitism. The Muslims would preserve their "little land of Bosnia" as their ethnic homeland, the Croats would have a "border on the Drina" with Serbia, and the Serbs would have the illusion of the "westernmost Serbia" to date. But the question is whether the entire B-H difficulty can be resolved at all without further warfare, that is, without "concrete" Western mediation?

The citizenry of both republics should be told what a confederation of Croatia and B-H—both confederated and integral—would bring to the two respective states so that they can demonstrate whether they want such an alliance or not. Although common interests probably do exist even in such an alliance, that kind of verification would be necessary, perhaps if only to avoid surprises similar to the ones that followed the Split agreement.

Opposing Parties Coordinate on 'Unification'

92BA0955B Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 21 May 92 p 7

[Article by Z. Zanko: "Support for a Defensive Alliance With Bosnia-Hercegovina"]

[Text] Zagreb—The coordinating group of the opposition parliamentary parties discussed the latest initiative for the unification of defense and the possibility of forming a confederation of Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, which was presented at a meeting of representatives of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] and the SDA [Party of Democratic Action] of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Dr. Antun Vujic (SDSH [Social Democratic Party of Croatia]) claimed that that initiative was primarily an expression of spontaneous necessity, and less an expression of the policy of the leaderships (which occasionally questioned that alliance), and was broader than party advocacy. Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina have to establish close cooperation, not just on the basis of defense interests, and one should also not exclude from cooperation others who can guarantee their participation on a democratic basis. The possibility of cooperation with Serbia is completely ruled out, and a resolution of the crisis in the Balkan region will only occur through the complete isolation and collapse of the chauvinist Serbian regime.

Ljubo Antic (HSLS [Croatian Social Liberal Party]) claimed that the confederation was announced because of everyday politics and preelection reasons, and since one should therefore expect a further homogenization of Serbs from Bosnia-Hercegovina, a continuation of the war is possible, which makes the possibility of realizing a confederation of Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina more remote.

For Petar Badovinac (HNS [Croatian People's Party]), the HDZ-SDA agreement is a counterpoint to the failed meeting in Graz, but Dusan Plecas (SDPH [Democratic Reform Party of Croatia]) was afraid of worse political consequences after the talks abroad, and maintained that bilateral agreements would not halt the war. Dobroslav Paraga (HSP [Croatian Rights Party]) felt that the agreement in Split was a small step toward achieving a united Croatian state in this region, but at the same time gave legitimacy to the Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatian for demanding a confederation with Serbia. The HSP is opposed to secret negotiations between Tudjman and Milosevic, and negotiations between their followers. Quoting Irfan Ajanovic, he said that Tudjman had advocated the partition of Bosnia-Hercegovina on 14 occasions.

Zeljko Mazar (SSH [Socialist Party of Croatia]) claimed that the agreement in Split was an attempt to minimize the negative effects of the talks in Graz. His party denies anyone's right to interpret Croatian interests, because the Assembly is the only one that can decide on association in state alliances, by a two-thirds' majority, and that has to be confirmed by a referendum. The war has to be ended and there has to be a conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina before such a decision. Zvonimir Nikolic (HDS [Croatian Democratic Party]) said that his party supported the Split agreement, but he thought that all political factors should be included in the talks, and that the emphasis should be on a defensive alliance, with a confederation following after the establishment of peace and the integrity and sovereignty of both states. The war has to be ended only with the military defeat of the aggressor.

The coordinating group adopted conclusions on holding elections, with several reservations and explanations. It was noted almost unanimously that the subject of the elections was imposed on the opposition, and as I. Cesar noted, the opposition could not be against the elections, but it could be condemned by the voters, especially the refugees and the socially endangered, who could misinterpret the demand for payment of the parties' accounts. He told Manolic that the cock was not just crowing but was also doing something else, and demanded the preparation of a code of behavior for the preelection campaign. The campaign, he claimed, had begun brazenly, and professional groups, for example teachers, were being exploited by the highest leadership for party gains.

D. Plecas announced that the SDPH deputies' club had proposed that the Croatian Constitutional Court assess the constitutionality of the electoral law and the law on the register of voters, because of the mandatory statement of nationality upon entry in the registers. Also

discussed was the problem of voting by Croatian citizens abroad (Lj. Antic is proposing that only those entered in the registers of voters can vote), and the possible low turnout of voters for the elections. The opposition will demand that the Assembly amend the electoral law.

Also discussed was, as Vujic called it, "the increased activity of the public prosecutor with respect to public figures." P. Badovinac, talking about the announcement that proceedings would be initiated against journalists D. Kuljis and T. Torbarina, said that energetic intervention was necessary against such activities by the public prosecutor. Several of the participants in the discussion stated that responsibility also goes along with the protection of public speech, but it was decided that a suggestion would be made to the Croatian Committee on Human Rights that it submit a request to the Constitutional Court for an assessment or repeal of article 198 of the Croatian Criminal Code, which has been called a new verbal offense.

Paraga emphasized the danger that also threatened the opposition leaders during the preelection campaign in connection with that article of the Criminal Code, and expressed amazement that such "unforgivable blunders" had been done by V. Seks, the author of a book against the verbal offense. He considered the legal protection of the president of the Republic against slander to be unacceptable, and thought that the president should also be on the defendants' bench for "spreading false news."

The coordinating group approved the project for Independent Croatian Television [NHTV], which has been initiated by a group of private entrepreneurs, and demanded that the legal and technical prerequisites for its implementation be ensured.

HDZ Accused of Intimidating Opposition

92BA0943B Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 19 May 92 pp 22-23

[Unattributed article: "The Opposition Is Seeking Foreign Protection"—first paragraph is DANAS introduction]

[Text] The HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] is trying to use intimidation to clear the electoral scene of all those who are in its way or who do not want to bow down before the altar of the current authorities.

The first fixation—that it is a party of demigods—is too heavy a burden just by itself, but it is additionally difficult because the HDZ has been promising even more than the gods permitted themselves. Jesus only demonstrated his supernatural power in exceptional cases, on a few occasions, not wanting to appear before people as a magician who fulfills wishes. The HDZ, however, has pulled out of its hat an entire world exhibition of dreams and promises, from the clearly major ones (that Croatia will finally belong to the Croats, that a confirmation gift of $150 billion will come to them immediately afterward...) to the clearly petty ones (that mosquitoes will be exterminated, as the Velika Gorica party organization vowed).

Since all elections are a submission of accounts for the preceding ones, anyone can conclude how things currently stand with Croatia, dollars, and mosquitoes, and that is the main handicap that is now facing the party in power. It can eliminate it by admitting that it has gone too far, which is nevertheless not customary for the divine breed, or by exposing others.

And that is what is happening these days. Vladimir Seks's hand extended in front of Bosiljko Misetic's nose is an obligatory sign in a type of politics that directs all parliamentary traffic toward a central point where it is decided who can stay on the road and whose license plates are taken off. It is not important that Seks himself, and a considerable number of HDZ deputies, are also against the law on minorities that gives more rights to Serbs than they themselves were asking for before the war. Seks and his friends will discuss this in the family circle, where harsh words and a few heads will fall, but afterward the party will appear, washed and decently combed, before the public and announce which opposition party and which opposition leader this time has put a spoke in the wheel of history that is harmoniously turning around the axis that goes between the Zagorje Villa and Gornji Grad.

A Whipping

That well-established scheme can be spoiled only by unforeseen events, such as are perhaps happening these days, when Croatian fighters are allegedly demanding as an ultimatum that someone from the staff come to the front and explain what is written in that controversial law.

Misetic had the misfortune of running afoul of the above-mentioned harmony by something that cannot be excused, i.e., perceiving the Assembly rostrum as a piece of furniture in his daily visit. Another and more serious handicap is that he apparently keeps his heart in the little party with which he had a conflict, but his head in the party to which he belongs, and thus, after the incident in the Assembly, he even stated to the amazed head of OTV [expansion not given] that he had voted for the HDZ in the elections. In the interview that we conducted with him, the ex-minister of justice denied that he had made that statement because he was frightened by Seks's calisthenics in the Assembly, but in that case matters are even worse, because then Misetic's announcement of his own ballot only confirms the HDZ's thesis that there is an equals sign, solid as a concrete doorstep, between that party and Croatia. That means that we are all members of the HDZ, and it is just that a few people ran off to the front, and so it serves them right that they got a whipping and were sent back where they belong.

Misetic thus only indicated, but without the strength and will to bring it up, the main topic of these preelection

days, namely that the HDZ is trying to use surprise attacks to clear the electoral scene of all those who are in the way or do not want to bow down before the altar of the current authorities, now that they are preoccupied with the difficulty of the job of preparing a coronation for another four years. The targets are the smaller parties, Paraga's HSP [Croatian Rights Party], Horvat-Markovic's SDU [expansion not given], and Pupovic's SDF [expansion not given], but also Savka's relatively strong HNS [Croatian National Party]. The differences among them are large, and even enormous, but they are similar in one thing. Not one of them participated in the first elections, and their strength will only be known after the ones to come. Taken separately, they cannot seriously threaten the HDZ, except for possibly the HNS, but they are dangerous because each one, from its own end, can bite off a piece of the cake that the ruling party has already surrounded with its glance. Paraga can count on the above-mentioned soldiers who are demanding additional information from the staff, but also on others who think the same way. After Misetic's appearance in the Assembly, the HNS has also recommended itself for their attention, by desiring to increase its already existing and relatively broad circle of sympathizers. The SDU will perhaps be able to combine the dissatisfaction that is now smoldering in the forgotten Croatian regions, even when it is burning to appear as an influential loudspeaker for the periphery vis-a-vis the despotism of the unitaristic center.

Guard Dogs

The HDZ's strategy against these and other electoral competitors has been developed on several levels, the first of which has already been mentioned. That is the method of classic intimidation, where the most serious accusations—"traitors," "Yugoslav fascists," "trash serving the aggressor"—are brandished in the face of political rivals, so that they can be swept away from the approach to power, even at the cost of excommunication (Dzeba does not even rule out "physical elimination"). Two guard dogs have been set before the very door of the throne—Sosic and Djodan—who have been authorized to jump in the face of anyone who approaches it without permission. They have special status: they will never come to power, because only their talent for destruction has been noted, but they have a mandate to bite any opposition figure who would want it (Vice Vukojevic has similar authorization, but he has apparently specialized in "compatriots" whose faith has given way and needs to be reinforced by buckets of cold water, and if that does not help, are recalled from their positions). In front of Sosic and Djodan is aimlessly wandering Don Anto Bakovic, who has specialized in those who do not have any direct ambitions for power, but to whom such a desire could occur someday (journalists, scientists, colleagues, priests...). Bakovic is a champion like an acid of concentrated Croatianism for spraying all the "Yugoslav lice" that are crawling on the healthy Croatian body. According to the strict criteria that he has set, he is indisputably the greatest living Croat, but just as a malicious writer of grafitti in Savska in Zagreb exposed Vrdoljak by writing his last name in Cyrillic, it can equally be said of Bakovic that he is a Latin, or, if you will, a shaved version of the militant Serbian priest Zarko Gavrilovic. Furthermore, since Gavrilovic and Milosevic do not like each other, Bakovic's additional counterpart can only be Seselj, who gets along better with the authorities.

The method of intimidation can yield some results, and we have seen that it is already yielding them, but its weakness lies in the fact that with its blunt and primitive phraseology, it creates more new enemies than it succeeds in cutting down. Furthermore, it expands the circles of suspicion so quickly that in the end they also extend to the ordinary citizens who are expected to approve the execution. A good example is the recent TV duel between Sale and Lesar, in which the former attacked the latter with such extreme high-treason terminology that even the viewers felt unsafe, although most of them probably feel that Lesar, under his skin, is at least a bit of a "commie." The result is that the vast majority of the voters, eight-ninths, voted for the tenacious but outvoted Lesar, and only one miserable ninth for Sale. Sale was afterwards seen in Zagreb cafes enduring his defeat in a careless and bon-vivant manner, but if the HDZ still retains its sharp reflex of surviving in power, he will not get away with it so humorously, because this was the first competition for votes since the last elections, and it could be a rather bad omen before these elections that are coming (so far the HDZ has kept away from such mini-duels, and that is why supplementary elections were not scheduled for the deputies' seats that were vacated by Tudjman, Mesic, Manolic...). Admittedly, the omen is not such that the ruling party would have to be afraid of defeat, but it will probably resort to some other, more subtle, although not necessarily more honest, methods of keeping power.

Guiding Surpluses

Fortunately for it, it has so much of a choice that one can already say that virtually everything has been done for the peaceful transfer of power from Tudjman to Tudjman, and for a nevertheless somewhat more uncertain transfer from the HDZ to the HDZ. Enough has already been said about the electoral law, and we will only say that according to some assessments (Dr. Ivan Grdesic), it will guarantee the ruling team "approximately the same number of votes as in the first elections, but it will probably have somewhat fewer seats in the Assembly." In order to be completely certain, however, and in order to pacify those in its ranks who would like to eliminate any risk by fixing the elections, the party in power has undertaken several more precautionary measures.... A law on gatherings of citizens has been passed which does not provide for the police to protect public meetings. The organizers would thus be responsible for any incidents at them, which is the last thing in which self-management should be restored, but on the other hand it is an excellent way to put the opposition parties at the mercy of provocateurs, and thus in practice to prevent any

party gathering but their own. The targets are once again the parties that were not in the elections, because now they have yet to be "seen" with their voters. The one most directly hurt, however, is Paraga's HSP, which is literally at the front and cannot do without the street, into which it would prefer, if it could, to move its headquarters (through a conjunction of circumstances, it is actually close to doing this). Nevertheless, the point at which the elections are coming closest to the script is the voter lists. Even at the referendum on independence, when it was still normal for residents of Ilok to vote in Ilok, residents of Gospic in Gospic, and residents of Dubrovnik in Dubrovnik, it turned out that everything was on the lists. It was usually that the number of voters on them was smaller than the number who went to the polling place. In Zagreb alone there was a surplus of 8,000. Admittedly, these were all votes "for Croatia," and at least from that aspect one could speak, using the old vocabulary, of "beneficial embezzlement." What will happen now, however, when hundreds of thousands of people have been displaced from the places where they voted before, and no one knows for sure how many of them there are in which electoral unit? If anyone does know, it is the services that take care of refugees, and those, we know, are under the auspices of the state and cannot be considered unbiased with respect to the parties. Nevertheless, the Office of Refugees is now being asked to compile lists of refugees, which will then be monitored by the electoral commissions, which are also state commissions (without representatives of the parties).

Thus, a thick line has been drawn around a circle within which it is possible—far from the eyes of the public, and thus also from party rivals—to create surpluses like this, and send them wherever necessary. The opposition does not see any way of preventing this but by seeking international arbitration of elections. Indeed, it seems that there is no other alternative.

HNS Criticizes Zagreb Centralist Role

92BA0957B Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 24 May 92 p 6A

[Article by Branko Podgornik: "Zagreb as the Model for the Republic"—first paragraph is NOVI VJESNIK introduction]

[Text] Convention of the Zagreb HNS [Croatian People's Party]; it was pointed out that Zagreb cannot be a metropolis with public kitchens and wages of 100 German marks.

Zagreb—"Zagreb, with its economic and financial capabilities, represents the heart of Croatia, but it is not and must not be a tutor and imperative commander for other parts of Croatia, which people want to impose upon it, because centralization can only cause resistance and efforts to seek autonomy. Each Croatian region, with its own characteristics, enriches, unifies, and strengthens Croatia." This was emphasized on Saturday at a convention of the regional alliance of the HNS for the Zagreb area, which was held in the Vatroslav Lisinski auditorium in the presence of about a thousand people.

Marijan Hanzekovic, the president of the HNS executive committee for Zagreb, warned that with the appearance of the Law on Transformation, nationalization was happening to the entire Zagreb economy, as well as the economy of Croatia: "Since its founding, the HNS has been warning that without rapid privatization of the Croatian economy, there is no possibility for economic progress," Hanzekovic stated. He added that the HNS was advocating privatization "through a distribution of the Croatian economy among Croatian citizens. Citizens, the (un)employed, and retirees would be issued coupons of a certain value, which could be used to purchase shares in their own enterprise or another one."

Thus, Handzekovic said, Croatia would "gain free people, who would defend their own interests, and thus Croatia's as well, without fear of the consequences—it would gain citizens who finally decide for themselves on their own future."

Speaking about the freedom of the press, Hanzekovic said that "with the nationalization of the publishing houses and HRTV [Croatian Radio-Television]," the public media had been put under the control of the authorities of one party, which is a direct attack against democracy. Referring to the Church in Croatia, "which today is primarily representing the interests of the Croatian people, and those are more important to it than any party declaration," Hanzekovic urged returning to the Catholic Church and other religious communities "what was taken away from them after 1945."

The president of the HNS, Dr. Savka Dabcevic-Kucar, pointed out the paradox that "Croatia is becoming a member of the international community and the UN, but it does not have a sufficiently well-developed idea and strategy regarding its position in the new European and world order." According to her, the world must not give in to Milosevic's Serbia, and must not sanction any conqueror's rights. The war has to be stopped, and the aggressor has to be punished. The HNS president sharply criticized the Karadzic-Boban agreement, "which has encountered catastrophic commentaries in the world." She thinks that the issue of a confederation with Bosnia-Hercegovina can be put on the agenda after the war, but it can be considered only by sovereign states with an appropriate procedure, and not by parties.

Savka Dabcevic-Kucar emphasized that Zagreb could not be a metropolis "with an income of 100 German marks, galloping inflation, and public kitchens." Zagreb, as she said, should be an example for Croatia in a constructive competition of knowledge, initiatives, and love for a democratic and progressive Croatia, "which is expressed by actions, and not by slogans and flags, impossible promises, illusions, or the sale of packaging

without contents." Zagreb, as a capital city and a European example for the rest, would definitely have to eliminate its bureaucratic attitude toward citizens, which we also found out about when the housing permits were pulled out, Dr. Kucar said.

The rate of taxation and contributions from the personal incomes of private businessmen, which amounts to 156 percent, is really excessive, and it is stifling profits, stated Vlatka Bukljas, a member of the Zagreb HNS executive committee. She opposed "imposing tactless solutions," and urged that flourishing business be made possible for shop owners. Bosiljko Misetic, member of the HNS Presidency Srecko Bijelic, Dabisa Bucanac (Velika Gorica), Milivoj Freher, and others spoke at the convention.

[Box, p 6A]

Dzeba: New Oligarchy

Criticizing the centralist policy in Croatia, HNS Vice President Kresimir Dzeba said that it would "cause the apoplexy of Zagreb and the paralysis of the regions: I envision Croatia as a beautiful woman with a good figure, but because of the centralist policy, it seems more and more to me to be like a spider with a big head and skinny limbs."

According to Dzeba, it is not good that "a few dozen people in their new apartments in the residential quarters of Zagreb have a more decisive influence upon the fate of Croatia than five million citizens. That new oligarchy is suppressing the beginnings of democracy, and preventing Croatia from entering Europe." He added that even "the name of the Dinamo club could not be decided upon by its players; instead, it was done by old men, according to the criteria of their own senile nostalgia." With the comment that Zagreb should be the center of an inexpensive state, Dzeba said that "today offices have become too cramped, and the administration is larger than it was under administrative socialism."

Predrag Haramija, a member of the Zagreb HNS executive council, advocated encouraging private initiative and giving equal chances to all citizens. He said that "the privileges of those who ruled until yesterday have not yet been abolished, but new privileged classes are already being created, and so now they are living together in the elite sections of the city."

[Box, p 6A]

Hunt Against Journalists

"In what is supposedly 'the most democratic country in the world,' a hunt is being started against T. Torbarina, I. Z. Cicak, J. Lovric, and other Croatian journalists. The state is stricter against public speech than it is against crime," Kresimir Dzeba said. With the question of whether we want to build Croatia as our home according to European standards or to repeat our own past, Dzeba emphasized that "the HNS has no greater or less ambition than being the European alternative for Croatia's present and future."

Mladic Conditions for Bosnia Withdrawal Viewed

92BA0949C Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 23 May 92 p 8

[Article by Zeljko Garmaz: "The Criminal General Is Announcing Hell!"]

[Text] Sarajevo, 22 May—In spite of the effort of the bodies of government to fully respect the agreement on moving the army peaceably from Sarajevo garrisons, the uncertainty about the final withdrawal of military personnel and equipment from the soil of independent B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina] still persists, above all because of the ever new conditions being put in the name of that army by General Mladic. We are in a position to present some of those conditions to the public:

—That the wounded, sick, and dead first be evacuated, then women and children of active military personnel and families who have taken refuge in military facilities, and then the combat segment, and Mladic emphasizes that "no one can alter" this order;

—That he will decide about the time of the evacuation;

—That Pazaric would be evacuated first, then the "Viktor Bubanj" Garrison, and then the "Marshal Tito" and "Jusuf Djonlic" Garrisons;

—That small convoys would be formed (of 10, five, or three vehicles) which can be monitored more easily;

—That members of the B-H Territorial Defense [TO] may enter military facilities only when this is allowed, that is, when "his" echelons cross the combat line and are on the territory which he "controls";

—That in formation of the military convoy from the "Marshal Tito" Garrison vehicles of UNPROFOR [UN Protective Force] must be deployed at the head, in the middle, and in the rear of the convoy, that the last vehicle will carry Gen. Baros, commander of the garrison, with Alija Delimustafic, B-H minister for internal affairs, and that Colonel Cado would come to the last combat line with a representative of UNPROFOR.

Gen. Mladic commissioned Col. Cado to obtain vehicles from UNPROFOR, and he ordered all garrison commanders not to accept any commissions for transfer of military facilities if in addition to representatives of UNPROFOR they include persons authorized by the B-H Presidency. In this connection, he has demanded that such a commission be sent away immediately after its arrival at the "Marshal Tito" Garrison, specifying that people on the commission from the B-H TO be "detained and not go anywhere from there, because they want to take them over by a trick," and if they object, he ordered that "follow what was done in Zadar." In order

to prevent inspection of the vehicles in the convoy, Mladic ordered his officers to "immediately destroy" all who approach, "not heeding whether you kill one person or five," along with the explanation that in Sarajevo they will "do it better and more professionally than in Zadar," and "these people will have to consent to everything, and whoever does not want peace will get hell." He especially suggested to Col. Petpara that he be ready to fight "a hundred times" better than in Zadar and to act "only on his orders."

Should the vehicles be stopped and inspected, Mladic foresaw "action against vital facilities and civilians, as allowed by the international law concerning war," and for reprisal he is prepared "to strike" even a convoy of UNPROFOR "not with one tank or one cannon or one airplane," stating that people know what he has and that the airplanes are already in the air.

If the echelons are not allowed to leave, the general foresaw blowing up the garrison, and in case of a possible refusal of the officers to do that, he threatened that he would "see on the spot that Sarajevo is blown up, and then they will beg him to evacuate others."

His threats of an attack on the "Marshal Tito" Garrison, supposedly from positions of the TO, are also indicative; and in this connection, when presented the facts that the garrison is being hit from the positions of Serbian terrorists on Vraca, he said that he had been at the observation post and had "seen all of Sarajevo with his own eyes," and that he is commanding an army which will be sent to "his army," which unambiguously leads to the conclusion that military units of the Yugoarmy are being "redirected" to the so-called liberated Serbian territory.

Mladic said on several occasions that he had a list of 7,200 civilians (the persons whom the Children's Embassy sent to Split), among them, he said, the "butchers" from Pofalici, the term Gen. Mladic used for the defenders of Sarajevo who managed to prevent the Serbian terrorists from cutting Sarajevo into "Serbian and Muslim parts" according to the plan of the extremists of the SDS [Serbian Democratic Party] in this locality. Threatening that he knows who participated in the "slaughter of Serbs" in Pofalici, he warned the legal authorities of the republic not to repeat the mistakes of Zadar, Sibenik, Sinj, and Drnis, bragging at the same time that Dalmatia still has not been freed of the blockade, nor will it be until all the Serbs are liberated in those parts and the corpses turned over of all the Serbs who died in those cities. After he learned that shells were falling in the area around the "Marshal Tito" Garrison, Mladic threatened that now he would go back on "his answer" and he shouted an order to "fire all artillery pieces and fire a salvo against all targets to the last shell."

Along with all this, Mladic says that those in the garrison are "in a five times more favorable position than all of Sarajevo," that not a single garrison has been threatened, that "they can spend 150 days in those fortresses," that "the soldiers are not hungry, but it is Sarajevo that is hungry," and that everything denied personnel in the military facilities would also be denied to Sarajevo (water, electricity, food, and medicine). He called upon his officers to work calmly, not to hurry, because for him "the essential thing is not to withdraw today, in five months, or in two years," and to prepare to "put up with being soldiers for a year," repeating that he had moved everyone out of all of Dalmatia and not a single soldier "had lost a hair on his head," and that he would "move these out as well." Assuring the soldiers that it was a war of nerves which the citizens of Sarajevo would less be able to take than "his units," Mladic was explicit that as of 20 May no regulations or agreements were valid and that he would take even the nails and door handles from the garrison and that the evacuation would take just as long as he said it would. Taking the truce to mean halting the forces on the lines where they happened to be, Mladic told his officers that if the "enemy should budge," they should immediately "close and fry him."

Concerning the weapons that remain in the garrison, Mladic issued very precise instructions, emphasizing that he would turn them over to the government of the republic in the state in which they are when the "last unit commander leaves the garrison," because, he explained, "it is their place to request, and his place to act on his authority." In response to the warning of members of the B-H Presidency that his ultimatum contradicts the order of Gen. Panic on inspection of the weapons, Gen. Mladic said that he would "prefer to leave his bones here above Sarajevo than for people to leave with their hands above their heads and dishonored."

According to him, Gen. Panic, who in Belgrade had been "pressured by parents of the cadets," agreed with him that the "Marshal Tito" Garrison would be vacated first.

These reflections of Mladic's, which he supplemented with certain other details about the manner and time of departure of the military units from Sarajevo garrisons, shed more light on the agreements which the representatives of the bodies of government of B-H are conducting continuously with representatives of the Yugoarmy in order to achieve a peaceful solution, and which unfortunately do not have any certain outcome.

Background of Political Rift in Krajina

92BA0956D Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 24 May 92 p 7

[Article by Milan Cetnik: "Background of the Political Rift in Krajina"—first paragraph is POLITIKA introduction]

[Text] The tiresome game of political ping-pong between Babic's team and the "Borovo Selo" crew is blocking unified political action; the ruling SDS [Serbian Democratic Party] has been broken up into interest groups.

Knin, 23 May—The war tension and political struggles in Krajina are intensifying, along with the approach of

the day when the UNPROFOR [UN Protective Force] forces are supposed to assume full responsibility for the armed protection of the Republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK]. Martic's MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs] has introduced a curfew throughout the entire Krajina territory, Croatian artillery is showering the ranks of the Krajina's defense with grenades day and night, and shelling cities (Benkovac), and this time the police are unselectively detaining military conscripts and sending them to the front. Naturally, representatives of the more prosperous class (private businessmen, officials, etc.) have again avoided going to the battlefield, by "shifting" their place of residence.

Confused Public Opinion

And while gullible people wait for this war syndrome to be neutralized, the military administration of UNPROFOR and the UN units are occupying positions 10-40 kilometers away from the line of the conflict, stationing themselves on the former land-registry borders of the opstina districts. At the same time that they conclude on the basis of their own assessment that Knin could be bombarded, the officers with blue berets are occupying reserve positions in the basements of the Knin Corps Command.

Public opinion, considerably confused and resentful of those in power, is helplessly observing the tiresome game of political ping-pong between Babic's team and the "Borovo Selo" crew, which, by lobbing accusations, are blocking unified political action by seeking a chance for their own profit at every opportunity. The basic reason that influences the unhappy clinical picture of the political situation in the Serbian Krajina is the problem of the legitimacy of political bodies, which can only be solved by holding elections. In order to hold elections, however, it is necessary to have a minimum of political unity, which is hard to achieve because of the background of the political rift.

Actually, the main reason for the blockade lies in the fact that the most organized political formation, the ruling SDS, has been broken up. Unfortunately, it has not broken up into factions, but rather into interest groups that are primarily struggling to share the profits from the "war economy," and so consensus on the political level is a derivative concept that is difficult to achieve. This is best indicated by the situation in the administrative apparatuses of the southern Krajina opstinas that were the nuclei of Krajina's statehood.

The presidents of these opstinas, officials of the former united SDS, are stubbornly not convening the opstina assemblies. They are dealing almost exclusively with "state" and not communal policy, and are mostly devoting themselves to current political maneuvering. This explains the angry reactions by some fighters from the front who are breaking into opstina buildings and throwing out the officials, or even shooting at the facades of the opstina buildings.

The mayor of Knin, Dr. Milan Babic, who has been insisting on "democracy" for months, has already been making decisions for a year now without consulting the opstina assembly. His colleagues, whose duties in the Krajina government are particularly pleasing to them, are behaving similarly: Prime Minister Zdravko Zecevic (president of the Benkovac SO [opstina assembly]), Deputy Prime Minister Bosko Bozanic (president of the Korenica SO), Minister of Religion Sergej Veselinovic (president of the Obrovac SO), and Minister of Sports (!) David Rastovic (president of the Donji Lapac SO).

The government apparatus has also been joined by personnel from the Socialist Party of Krajina (the so-called Mikelic party), regarding which it is not known whether it exists at all. This interest group, which consists of proven communist personnel, received one deputy prime minister position in the government, and several ministerial armchairs. The most meager result has been achieved by the so-called Raskovic wing of the SDS (Jovan Opacic has been appointed head of the Krajina Red Cross).

In completing the political mosaic, it would be a mistake to forget about the influence of the LC-Movement for Yugoslavia, but also the former LC Opstina Committee, whose former officials have been adopted by the Krajina government.

The Peacekeepers Are Also Confused

The head of the UN civil administration for the southern sector, Mr. Viktor Andrejev (with whom we spoke at his request), complained to us recently about the unstable political situation in Krajina, which his team "cannot keep track of, because everything changes from day to day.... There are Babic, Hadzic, Martic, the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army]...."

In response to a question about whom he considered the most relevant interlocutor, Mr. Andrejev retorted, "That is what I am asking you...."

Naturally, the question arises of why the existing Krajina government does not seem to Mr. Andrejev to be the most relevant political factor. Those who are more familiar with the Krajina situation know that the government ministries, except for the Ministry of Police and Defense, are phantom offices without a headquarters or administration.

Thus, for example, it is not known how the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which is now headed by Dobrosav Vejzovic, until recently the number-two man in Serbian diplomacy and announced as a "career diplomat," is functioning.

The public is also wondering why the "traveling government" has flown so often from Knin to Belgrade, Beli

Manastir, or other places, and what the purpose of these trips is and how much they cost. The reason for the latest unpopular decision on imposing a curfew, which was made by the Ministry of Police, the most successful government ministry, remains unclear.

If Knin's political princes, with their conflicts of interest and contradictory statements, are succeeding in confusing experienced UN diplomats, it is not difficult to assume how poorly informed citizens and public opinion are coping with the whirlpools of the political struggles.

International

Vice President Kostic Views UN Sanctions

AU0306194392 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1822 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Interview with Branko Kostic, vice president of the FRY Presidency, by Zeljko Avramovic; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Avramovic] Esteemed viewers, we asked Dr. Branko Kostic, vice president of the Yugoslav Presidency, to talk to us about the UN sanctions against Yugoslavia, that is to say Serbia and Montenegro, and the future activities of the Presidency of Yugoslavia on alleviating their impact and creating conditions for their removal.

Mr. Kostic, Yugoslavia has been punished for the second time within a very short period of time, this time with the explanation that its behavior is unacceptable to the international community. Yugoslavia was declared the only culprit for everything that happened in Yugoslavia without a trial. However, the report by UN Secretary General Butrus Ghali is different. This report was made on 30 May, a day before the Security Council's decision to introduce sanctions, but was only presented yesterday. How would you comment on such a course of events?

[Kostic] It appears that these people are doomed to always be subject of some kind of blockade. Just as we experienced and survived the blockade imposed by Stalin's regime in 1948—they even apologized to us later—I am more than sure that this blockade—which, unfortunately, comes from the democratic West—will be survived, too. One day this will be past, and many who took part in this will probably tell us that the prevailing circumstances were such and that they made incorrect assessments and conclusions.

None of us can deny our involvement and participation in the clashes in Bosnia-Hercegovina, simply because these people have said from the very beginning that they cannot be indifferent about the fate of the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina and the Serbian Krajinas. However, it is more than certain that the accusations made at our expense are incorrect and unjust. There was no aggression, nor can one talk about the aggression by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or Serbia on Bosnia-Hercegovina, nor is the Serbian side the only side in this conflict.

[Avramovic] The report was kept in the drawer for three days in the [word indistinct] way. Does this perhaps reveal the background of these sanctions?

[Kostic] I think that the content of this report represents in fact the element that should not diminish, but rather reinforce our trust in the international community and the United Nations. It is more than certain that such a report, with a fairly large dose of objectivity, did not suit someone, and that it was deliberately left to be revealed later. I think this because it is almost certain today, and this was my impression on Saturday when the Security Council adopted the resolution hastilyy and overnight, so to speak, that the aim of such an unprecedented resolution—unprecedented for the ferocity of the sanctions that are being applied against one country for the first time since 1945—was in fact to frighten these people, to cause a shock among our citizens, to cause abstention in the elections, and to put the constituting of the organs of authority of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in question.

[Avramovic] The sanctions are now reality. The aforementioned document that caused a stormy reaction in the international community is in a way suddenly opening a new maneuvering space for diplomatic action by the Yugoslav side.

[Kostic] At the Presidency session yesterday, which was attended by the presidents of the two republics, we tried to realize our part of the obligations that stem from the Security Council's resolution, especially the part that refers to our possible influence on the leadership of the Serbian people in Bosnia- Hercegovina. However, if at the same time the international community does not exert such influence and pressure on the leadership of the Muslim people in Bosnia-Hercegovina, on the leadership of the Croatian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and on Franjo Tudjman himself —who is heading a state that is a member of the United Nations, but which has over 40,000 armed troops in Bosnia-Hercegovina, another member state of the United Nations—if the international community does not exert pressure on these factors, then there will be no peace in Bosnia. The one-sided approach only means encouragement for those who are fanning the flames of war in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Right now, this description obviously refers to Alija Izetbegovic.

[Avramovic] Is the Presidency planning to hold bilateral talks with the leaders of the United Nations and its most influential members in the near future to present Croatia's involvement and the role of the Muslim side in the clashes in Bosnia-Hercegovina?

[Kostic] We truly were not familiar with the content of the Mr. Butrus Ghali report, but we were convinced, just as we are convinced now, that the full truth about the events in Yugoslavia and Bosnia-Hercegovina cannot remain concealed for long. Therefore, in the proposals that we have presented we envisaged the activities that should, in our opinion, be the content of efforts, joint efforts to stop the war clashes in Bosnia-Hercegovina, by the international community and by us. Namely, we proposed the organization of an international conference on resolving the Yugoslav crisis, we sent a letter to Mr. Butrus Ghali asking him to send more observers who would monitor everything that is happening here and would actually obtain a true picture of the fact that we are not carrying out aggression against Bosnia-Hercegovina. We thought, namely, that Mr. Butrus Ghali does not have enough information, but it is

evident from the content of his report that he did have the correct information and that he did not conceal it but rather presented it in his report. Soon, in the course of the coming week, I presume, we will choose the new FRY president and the new federal government in the shortest possible timeframe. We believe that these activities, regardless of the election of the new FRY organs of power will run continuously.

[Avramovic] In the international circles in the West it is no longer hidden that the aim of these sanctions is to undermine the authorities in Belgrade and Titograd and with the aid of certain circles within the country overthrow the legally elected leadership of Serbia and Montenegro, and of the future FRY, and impose a puppet regime. How would you comment on this?

[Kostic] Well, I think that the people of Serbia and Montenegro with such a massive turnout at the elections, only a day after imposing of sanctions, regardless of the surprise, a state of shock, anxiety, and so forth, in the best possible way answered all such attempts. I believe that regardless of such a massive turnout of citizens at the elections, the new FRY leadership should not feel especially supported and bolstered to proceed from a position of spite and so forth. I believe that we should not try to beat our heads against a brick wall, but I believe that we should behave wisely and reasonablly during these days that are before us, demonstrating full readiness and openness for communication, talks, and searching for a common solution, with Europe, United States, and with the entire international community. First of all, in our view, we should work within the United Nations, but we at the same time resist all further attempts, that should not be dismissed, that would be aimed at bringing these people to their knees and to impose a foreign will and solutions on these people. History has proven that all such attempts that this nation suffered in its rather stormy and famous history failed.

[Avramovic] Can this be interpreted as an announcement of a more lively diplomatic policy and diplomatic offensive of the future federal organs?

[Kostic] In any case, on the basis of the results of these elections, we must now again draw the attention of all those in the West that are allegedly advocating some faster, democratic processes on these territories. We must tell them that these ruling parties that even at these elections received such massive support represent the golden center, which offers what might be a slower but absolutely certain road to the further democratic transformations on these territories. Any attempt at forcefully changing these processes could result in some other political options being brought ont the political scene of Serbia, Montenegro, and FRY, and these political options could be extreme in one or other way. These very parties, regardless of how much the individuals from the leadership of these parties might be liked, demonstrate that this is a process that is inexorably running and is pulling forward into these democratic transformations in a way that will protect us from the extremes of any sort. [passage omitted]

[Avramovic] What is present pace of constituting the organs of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia?

[Kostic] I think that we will hold the first constituting session of the Federal Parliament next week, perhaps even in the first half of the next week. We have not agreed yet whether the first constituting session will elect the president of the republic, (?even if its is extended for a day or two). After the president of the republic is elected, which should in my view be completed by the end of next week, the president of the republic should propose to the parliament the chairman of the federal government. I think that the chairman of the federal government should be given at least 15 days, but no more than one month, to form the government.

[Avramovic] The filling of vacant places in the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina with two Serbs, Messrs. Kecmanovic and Pejanovic, has caused confusion and speculations in the public that this was done by the Yugoslav Presidency. To what extent are such statements founded?

[Kostic] Such views are totally unfounded. The election of Kecmanovic and Pejanovic to the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina represents yet another in the series of wrong moves by Alija Izetbegovic, and an extremely imprudent act, because such filling of vacant places in the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina Alija Izetbegovic is continuing to show that he does not accept what we are all jointly insisting on, namely the continuation of the peace talks on Bosnia-Hercegovina in Lisbon. On the other hand, by accepting seats in the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina, they are also endangering what has already been achieved within the Lisbon conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina. However, I hope that the mentors of Alija Izetbegovic, outside Yugoslavia, in Europe and beyond Europe, will have enough strength to persuade Alija Izetbegovic to continue political talks in Lisbon. I am also very convinced that their election in the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina will not cause new tragic consequences among the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

[Avramovic] By its definition politics is the realization of the possible. So far the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and its Presidency have been making certain concessions, and even some uncertain sacrifices, that caused the public to feel that the Presidency is inconsistent.

[Kostic] Politics is in fact the skill of searching for the optimal between what is desired and what is possible. Our policy and our behavior in the past year indeed contained many elements and many moves that could be understood by the people as a retreating, a mellowing on our part. I do not exclude the possibility that if we had taken different and more radical steps in the past quicker than we did, we would have probably been more

respected by the international community than was the case over the past year. However, the international community must finally realize that we have been cornered, that there will be no more retreating. I am quite certain that we now are in the position to look in this very international community, with the help of the United Nations, for a solution that will be an honorable way out. This means no victorious waving by anyone in Yugoslavia, and no throwing of these people on their knees, but looking for a solution that will be an honorable way out of this impasse in which we were led above all by the EC with its premature decisions and moves, and with its fanning of the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina, instead of contributing to ending this situation. I am quite sure that in the days ahead we will establish links with the EC and the international community as whole that will offer a way out of this crisis, a complete political solution, and the final peace on the territory of Yugoslavia.

[Avramovic] Mr. Kostic, thank you very much for the conversation.

Official Considers Butrus Ghali's Report 'Fair'

LD0306152792 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1448 GMT 3 Jun 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, June 3 (TANJUG)—The latest report of U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Butrus Ghali in which he also blames Croatia for the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina is seen in diplomatic and academic circles in Belgrade as a fair document which, nevertheless, leaves some questions unanswered.

"It is now evident that Resolution 757 has been adopted on the basis of untrue pictures about the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina", Branko Brankovic, head of the section for international organizations in the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry, has told TANJUG.

Butrus Ghali's report is dated May 30, the day when the security council decided to impose comprehensive, immediate and mandatory sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia because of its alleged involvement in the fighting in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The assessment of the U.N. secretary-general that the authorities in Belgrade do not exercise political control over the Serb forces in Bosnia-Hercegovina practically means that the most serious accusation against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia no longer stands, said Brankovic.

Brankovic and expert in international law Gavro Perazic said that the adoption of Resolution 757, without taking into consideration Butrus-Ghali's latest report, took place one day before the parliamentary elections in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. In their opinion, hasty economic, political and other sanctions were aimed at influencing the elections and bringing about "a possible change in the leadership of the bigger federal unit, Serbia".

"The report can be expected to influence the launching of a process of adapting Resolution 757 to the actual state of affairs and responsibilities, i.e. to the lifting of sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and punishment of those who are really guilty", said Brankovic.

Another expert in international law, Konstantin Obradovic from the Belgrade-based Institute for International Politics and Economy, said he believed that the Security Council might meet for another session before June 15 to "at least psychologically and politically improve the position of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia".

Brankovic, Perazic and Obradovic agreed that, despite the unfavourable circumstances, it was vital for the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to continue fulfilling its share of obligations stemming from Resolution 752 of May 15.

Moscow Slav Assembly Meeting Condemns Sanctions

LD0306144492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1156 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] Moscow, June 3 (TANJUG)—The International Slav Organisation "Slav Assembly" expressed on Wednesday indignation over the treacherous decision of the Russian government to uphold the U.N. Security Council sanctions against the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro.

In its statement the Slav Assembly says that the decision has been adopted by a group of people who are unfortunately in power in Russia. The Slav Assembly maintains that the decision is contrary to the Slav interests.

Slav Assembly President Stanislav Karpov told TANJUG on Wednesday that the Slav Assembly has expressed solidarity with the Serb and Montenegrin people and that it considers the sanctions proclaimed on the night of May 30 and 31 unjust.

Karpov also said that the Slav Assembly has one million signatories in Russia, Ukraine, Byelarus, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Serbia, Montenegro and Bulgaria.

The decision of the Russian Government has also been condemned by numerous smaller political parties-members of the Russian Patriotic Front. There are also indications that a number of deputies in the Russian Supreme Soviet will also condemn the decision.

Consulate Building in Istanbul Damaged

LD0306135792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1043 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] Ankara, 3 Jun (TANJUG)—A group of 50 masked men stoned the building of the Yugoslav Consulate

General in Istanbul at around 1130 today. The building's windows, a glass display case at the entrance to the building, and a car belonging to an employee were broken.

The demonstrators shouted slogans against Serbia and Yugoslavia and threw pamphlets saying: "You cannot stop Islam, Bosnia is ours".

The police did not do anything to prevent this barbaric act. The Yugoslav Embassy in Ankara has protested to the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and demanded that Turkey, in accordance with its obligations, protect our diplomatic and consular missions in Turkey.

Hungary, Turkey, Austria Prohibit Transshipments

LD0306214992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2041 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, June 3 (TANJUG)—All goods sent from Yugoslavia by rail to Hungary and via Hungary elsewhere in Europe will as of June 4 be turned back from the Hungarian border, Yugoslav railways informs on Wednesday.

The Hungarian state railways informed Yugoslav railways of its unilateral decision in a telegram on Wednesday, quoting in explanation the latest resolution adopted by the United Nations Security Council restricting the flow of goods from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Yugoslav railways received similar telegrams on Wednesday afternoon also from Turkey and Austria.

The ban applies also to goods in transit through Yugoslavia.

'Captured' Croatian, Muslim Documents Revealed

92BA0956C Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 May 92 p 2

[Article by M.M.: "Insincere Alliance"—first paragraph is BORBA introduction]

[Text] Military sources reveal documents on relations between the Croatian and Muslim armed forces.

Banja Luka—On the occasion of the arrest of two leaders of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] from Novi Travnik in Vlasic, Joze Sekic and Joze Ljubas, among other things, orders from Lieutenant Colonel Filip Filipovic, the commander of the HVO's Main Staff for the Lasvan region, were found, along with an order from Major General Ante Ros.

Lieutenant Colonel Bosko Paulic, whose unit arrested the above pair, says that considerable time will be needed to study the captured documents, but that certain ones are "as clear as day." In this regard, he is thinking primarily of the contents of the order from Major General Ante Ros, which says: "On the territory of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosnia, the only legal military formations are the formations of the HVO. All other military formations are obliged to join the unified defense system on the above-mentioned territory, and recognize the Staff of the Croatian Military Defense as the main command. With this order," it continues, "all orders from the TO [Territorial Defense] command (of Bosnia-Hercegovina) are invalid, and are to be considered illegal on this territory."

Also interesting are the contents of the notes taken by the arrested Joze Sekic at a meeting in Grude on 15 May, which was attended by Boban, Vukojevic, Santic, and Boras.

There is also a strict order on what to say if someone asks, "Why are you fighting?" The slogan is: "Because of the claim to Croatian lands."

Serbian-Muslim Conflict in Bosnia Discussed

92BA0956E Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 24 May 92 p 6

[Article by Dusan Kecman: "Herceg-Bosnia Without Muslims"—first paragraph is POLITIKA introduction]

[Text] The fate intended for the "flower of Croatia" is increasingly clearer; because of the conflict between Croatian and Muslim forces, propaganda for "handling" the Muslims has begun on HTV [Croatian Television].

Banja Luka, 23 May—The most interesting detail in the HTV broadcast the night before last from its studio in Split was the presentation to the audience of "our Croatian Zepce," as stated by the host of the broadcast "First of All," Ante Ivankovic. The mayors of the cities of Zepce, Vitez, Kupres, Novi Travnik, Lipno, and Tomislavgrad, together with the presidents of the crisis headquarters of the Croatian Military Defense [HVO] of Herceg-Bosnia, were the Split studio's guests, and answered many questions from viewers. According to the answers from the studio, the Muslims in Herceg-Bosnia should put themselves under the command of the HVO, and immediately take off "their lilies," as it was stated, and resign from their own TO [Territorial Defense] in the Croatian territories in Bosnia-Hercegovina [B-H].

This broadcast would perhaps have gone unnoticed if it had not revealed some of the intentions of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] with respect to the Muslims in this part of central Bosnia on the border with western Hercegovina. In fact, in response to a viewer's question about the accuracy of the report published in NOVA DALMACIJA that there had been a conflict between Croatian and Muslim forces in Novi Travnik, the answer was given that the conflict had happened by mistake. It involved a group of Muslim criminals who attempted, following their custom in black-marketeering with the Yugoslav army, to take weapons from the barracks in Novi Travnik. They were prevented by members of the HVO. Since a bomb was thrown at the

barracks (or several bombs), by which Croats from the barracks were wounded (or killed), "there was harsh retaliation against the Muslim TO." And since there was no correct information, after that there was a fierce conflict between the Croatian forces and the Muslim TO—that was the explanation from the studio.

This story about accidental conflicts, however, conceals a bitter struggle by members of the HDZ in central Bosnia and western Hercegovina as part of the HVO for "their own Croatian territories," in which Muslims will be essential only as long as they are useful for settling accounts with the Serbs, and afterward they would be dealt with as well. We have learned about these intentions by the Croats from documentation that was found on two very important people in the HVO and the HDZ from Novi Travnik, Joze Ljubas and Joze Sekic.

Abundant documentation was found on these two people arrested on a secret mission in Vlasic, from which it is clear that all of the steps to create a Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosnia are being taken, on orders from the supreme command in Zagreb, by Major General Ante Ros, whose headquarters are in Grude.

It is well known that in Novi Travnik there was a fierce settling of accounts between Muslim and Croatian forces, but it was not by accident, but rather because of the special-purpose production in a factory in that town. The Croatian army in Croatia itself and on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina does not have anywhere to get ammunition (for example, for multibarrel rocket launchers) except from military factories in the area of central Bosnia. From there, through Gornji Vakuf and Bijele Vode and Risovac, below Vran Mountain, they are transporting ammunition and missiles to the front lines of the entire Croatian army on all the fronts. In their relentless struggle with the Muslims, who are not willing to accept the situation that everything is on the territory of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosnia, only the Croatian members of the HVO are willing to kill not only people of Muslim nationality, but also their own people, unless they fit into the fulfillment of their plans.

According to the documents found on Ljubas and Sekic, the "order from Major General Ante Ros dated 8 May 1992" clearly shows where the Muslims' place is. On the territory of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosnia, according to that order, the only legal "military formations are the formations of the HVO. All other formations are obliged to join the HVO," and with the same insignia, to recognize only the HVO Staff as the chief and sole command. Otherwise, through this order, all Bosnia-Hercegovina TO forces are put under the irregulars, and all orders from the Bosnia-Hercegovina TO's main headquarters in Sarajevo are invalid.

The large number of Muslims who died in the conflicts with the HVO in Novi Travnik and Busovaca indicates that the decisions from the meeting in Grude, which was held on 15 May and which was attended by Boban, Boras, Vukojevic, and Santic (as determined from the documents found on Joze Sekic) are actually being carried out.

In the implementation of those orders, it is not surprising that the initial conflicts between Croats and Muslims are happening precisely in Mostar, where some members of the Bosnia-Hercegovina TO were liquidated during implementation of the order that all Muslims be put under the HVO Council and the crisis headquarters there. Mostar is planned to be the the capital of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosnia. Consequently, it is not surprising at all, after the conflict with the territorial forces, that Croatian armed forces under the HVO—for the sake of intimidation, but also to show how determined they were—viciously slaughtered about 30 Muslims. These were former members of the RV [air force] and PVO [antiaircraft defense] from the base at the Mostar military airport. These people, who did not want to leave the Mostar area and came to the Bosnia-Hercegovina TO after the first conflicts, paid with their heads for their gullibility. These facts are not easy to deny, and thus this sudden HTV broadcast from the Split studio can be interpreted more as a media "laundering" of the crimes committed by the Croatian army against Muslims on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina than as a desire for "successfully showing the audience where Croatian Zepce is located."

Federal

Kostic Discusses Breakup of SFRY

AU0106090392 Podgorica POBJEDA in Serbo-Croatian 17 May 92 p 7

[Interview with Branko Kostic, vice president of the presidency of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, by Slavoljub Scekic; place and date not given: "End of Mandate"]

[Text] For 12 years after the death of Josip Broz [Tito], mid-May was reserved for the almost ceremonial "one-chair" shift in the collective head of state, following which the Yugo-eight would return to silence behind the heavy doors of the Palace of the Federation, breaking it only with occasional announcements of unanimous decisions. This order was disrupted last year by the Presidency's failure to appoint its president (Mesic) when it was the turn of the Croatian representative. Then all sorts of ambassadors stormed the Palace of the Federation, and forced the collective leadership to carry out the appointment. Mesic did not stay long in the president's chair, and after leaving, he uttered that famous sentence in the Croatian parliament: "Yugoslavia no longer exists. I have done my job." We asked Dr. Branko Kostic, vice president of the Presidency, who then took over "the steering wheel" according to regulations on imminent war danger, what his "sentence" was, after his one-year mandate.

[Kostic] I can only say that I believed in Yugoslavia, and that we have saved it.

[Scekic] Is your task completed with that?

[Kostic] The task I took on when Mesic announced that he would smash Yugoslavia was to preserve it, or at least save it in the shape and size and nations that really wanted to live in it. In that respect I think I have completed my task. The desire to preserve Yugoslavia was not rooted in vanity, or in our being burdened with the concept of it. It was a conviction that prospects were opening for Serbs outside these borders, that they know they can count on living together with other Serbs and Montenegrins. We, of course, also leave room for the others, if they ever come back to their senses, and, in happier times, wish to rejoin Yugoslavia.

Independence Caused War

[Scekic] The idea of Yugoslavia evolved from an asymmetric federation, then confederation, and finally the reduction of the number of republics until only two were left. Looking back at it now, do you think that the option of reconstructing the country into a loose confederation of republics should have been accepted at the very start?

[Kostic] I do not think that it was a matter of the evolution of ideas, but rather the fact that everyone stood by his own. We favored a federation from the start, a firmer state organization, and we stuck to it. We have formed a state with those republics and those people who wanted it. At the moment, of course, a number of citizens in Bosnia-Hercegovina and Serbian Krajina are not in a position to fulfill their choice, owing to political and other reasons.

On the other hand, the idea of a confederation was based all along on what we kept underlining: the first step towards secession. Many today think and say that confederation should have been accepted, and there would have been no war. We did not accept the confederation because we knew that it would open the question of borders, and that everything except a federation would lead to civil war.

[Scekic] But all the republics have kept their administrative borders, and we have had war on top of it.

[Kostic] I would not agree that all borders have been kept. On the territory of former Croatia two states have now been practically constituted: the internationally recognized Republic of Croatia, and Serbian Krajina, which incorporates areas with the majority Serbian population. Krajina is out of the jurisdiction of Croatian authorities, and is controlled by the UN. The people there have their own police, organs of authority, judiciary, education system, and they will not put up with the imposition of the Croatian authority. I should add that the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina will not improve until the Lisbon agreement is implemented, and three ethnic states formed within Bosnia-Hercegovina.

[Scekic] You once told NIN that recognition of Bosnia-Hercegovina would lead directly to civil war. Was that merely prophecy, or something else?

[Kostic] I did not need to be prophetic to see it coming. I said that the key to the solution of the Bosnian, and Yugoslav crisis rested in the hands of the Muslims in Bosnia-Hercegovina. That has proved to be true. The Muslims are in the majority in Bosnia, their political party is the strongest one there, and they have the biggest influence on the authorities, despite the fact that the other two ethnic groups are also constituent.

Army or (Ethnic) Armies

[Kostic] Just a year ago, Mr. Alija Izetbegovic claimed at meetings in front of his supporters that he himself would like to see an independent Bosnia, but said that he thought it unrealistic. Unfortunately, he later forgot his own estimates. I personally think that Mr. Izetbegovic had been encouraged by the premature recognition of Bosnia-Hercegovina by the EC and USA. Prompted by their support, he led the Serbian, Croatian, and Muslim people into an all-out civil war, and horrible bloodshed.

[Scekic] He has lately been calling for foreign military intervention.

[Kostic] As time goes by it will become more evident that Mr. Izetbegovic is not thinking of accomplishing a civil state, but a Muslim one. It is no coincidence that he has turned for support to Turkey, Libya, and other countries.

[Scekic] You once said that the army would not be pulled out of Bosnia without the consensus of all three ethnic communities, and that you would never sign such a decision. But you have.

[Kostic] I have signed a decision that all citizens of Yugoslavia should be pulled out from Bosnia-Hercegovina. The chief command has no authority over the others. Even before we formed the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the fact was that 85 percent of the army in that region consisted of Serbs from Bosnia-Hercegovina, and that was owing to Izetbegovic's bar on Muslims and Croats joining the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA]. My signature cannot be binding on them.

[Scekic] Still, the JNA's weaponry is in their hands, and they are in the barracks. What is their status?

[Kostic] We have told the leaders of all three parties that, with the withdrawal of the citizens of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, our command ceases. It is hard to say what will happen next—Izetbegovic has formed his own army, comprised of Croats and Muslims, including the regular units of Croatia, which had entered Bosnia-Hercegovina previously. It is obvious that the JNA members, citizens of Bosnia, will not accept Izetbegovic's command. When we withdraw, there will be two armies there, maybe even three, since conflicts have already started between the Muslims and Croats. I

believe that our withdrawal should encourage the continuation of political talks in Lisbon. The future of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and its military formations, depends on an agreement between all three ethnic groups. There have already been discussions in Lisbon on the possibilities of forming separate ethnic guards, or a joint army on a confederal level.

[Scekic] Your mandate in the SFRY Presidency has mostly been spent in some kind of international isolation. Can that explain why some previous estimates have not come true? For example, your view used to be that the USA understood our problems well. Obviously, you do not hold that view now.

[Kostic] We do not have to convince anyone that the USA, despite Ambassador Zimmerman's behavior, had shown constraint for a long time, not following Europe's example in the one-sided approach to the problem. We could only go by what the American Administration led us to believe with their behavior. Their latest conduct comes as a surprise even to Europe, which is very partisan towards the whole thing. Almost overnight the USA has changed its attitude, and has become even more extreme in their demands than the EC, whose polices have been practically dictated by Germany.

Ambassadors Are Packing

[Kostic] It is hard to tell what the reasons are behind this behavior. I personally can see two explanations. The isolation of Libya, the Iraq crisis before that, and many other things, could have created a certain picture of the USA in the millions-strong Muslim world. That is why there is this linking with Turkey, which is thought to be far less extreme than the other Islamic states around, and the attempts to draw the Muslim states that have been formed after the disintegration of the USSR. And that is why their unreserved support of Izetbegovic looks quite logical, particularly as Turkey is also involved.

The second explanation of the shift in the USA policy can be found in the coming elections. The German lobby is quite strong, and the administration obviously does not want to take too many risks.

[Scekic] As we talk, the western ambassadors are packing their bags. What will come out of that?

[Kostic] This packing of bags, in my opinion, means persistent implementation of the policies that the EC, particularly Germany, has outlined at the very start. The idea behind it is clearly to complete the process of total destruction of Yugoslavia, to undermine the constitution of Yugoslavia as a federal state made up of Serbia and Montenegro. It is probably an attempt to use the extreme representatives of the Muslim people to extend the crisis and the war to Sandzak and Kosovo. Germany and Austria do not want a Yugoslavia that would stand in their way as a dam to their further penetration into the east. They will try and continue this process as much as they can, using internal extreme forces.

Defense Minister Not Known

[Kostic] During last year, in the Presidency, we had an opportunity to discuss many moves we could have made, but did not, because we wanted to show our goodwill to Europe. We had reasons to dismiss the Federal Executive Council, the premier, the minister for foreign affairs. Then threats came from the West of pulling out of the ambassadors. We have not made those moves, but they are still pulling out their ambassadors.

They even imposed a head of state on us last year. I think that we should have shown more decisiveness. We should have taken retaliatory steps. Europe would have probably shown more respect for us then.

[Scekic] What are your impressions of the cooperation with the army leadership?

[Kostic] I have to say that the army leadership has not made any independent moves without consulting the Presidency. To tell the truth, I did find it the practice that all army suggestions were passed without question. When we started to change that, there were some objections, but we have managed to maintain good relations.

[Scekic] The fact that Adzic has resigned and the acting minister for defense not yet appointed is seen by many as a move to keep that position for you in the future federal administration.

[Kostic] Those rumors are totally unfounded for the simple reason that the elections have not yet been held, so we cannot talk about positions now.

[Scekic] But, as things stand at the moment, your party is already winning the elections, since most of the opposition will not even take part in them.

[Kostic] It is not quite like that. We still do not know how many representatives we will have. Appointments can be made only after the results of the elections are known, and that includes the post of defense minister.

As for me, I hold a regular post at Podgorica University, of course, if it is estimated that there is no need for me to retain any government function.

[Scekic] Do you see yourself in the new federal administration?

[Kostic] Perhaps it would be to pretentious for me to talk about that.

[Scekic] You were the first one to announce the possibility of a civilian defense minister. Maybe that is why you are rumored to be a candidate.

[Kostic] Maybe. In my function as vice president of the Presidency I had an opportunity to discuss a new concept of the army with others. The general public was asking questions about that, so it was only logical that I made the idea known.

[Scekic] You said that, with the modernization of the army, a further group of generals would have to retire.

[Kostic] As the JNA is transformed and adjusted to needs, it stands to reason that the officer corps will have to be reduced, and more generals retired. The distribution of peacekeeping forces in Krajina, and if peace is restored in Bosnia, will, I think create conditions for the cessation of imminent war danger. That should be done at least before the elections.

[Scekic] Some generals have not taken kindly to having to retire. There have been some sharp objections in the press. Do you think there could be stronger resistance to civilian authorities?

[Kostic] I do not see why we should expect such resistance. However, one should understand their reaction. A man who goes into retirement with the highest honors does not go gladly even in times of peace. He is being separated from his work, having to start an entirely different life. Some are more affected, some less, but it is certain that one sees going into retirement as a dramatic experience. Particularly in times like these. That is why their reactions should not be surprising.

[Box, p.7]

When the Time Is Right

[Scekic] You have had many colleagues. You will probably write more about them at some stage. But, could you now say just a word about the people you cooperated most closely with? For example, Milosevic, Bulatovic, Jovic, Kadijevic, Adzic....

[Kostic] I do not think the time is right for such observations. It is quite possible that, at some stage, an occasion will arise when a few words will be said on the subject.

New Demands all the Time

[Kostic] There is constant pressure on the CSCE to suspend Yugoslavia, while, at the same time, it is demanded that we show goodwill in the solution of the crisis. Within a fortnight, before the CSCE conference, we constituted the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, established borders, issued a special declaration that we have no territorial pretensions on others, and made the decision to pull out our citizens, who are members of the JNA from the territory of other countries. We did all that, and it is still not enough. They keep insisting on something new all the time. Basically, by strongly influencing certain countries, they want to isolate Yugoslavia.

I Do Not Sleep Well

[Kostic] During the past year, with the crisis going on, and wars in Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia, I kept underlining possible dangers. Unfortunately, I have frequently been right. I would like to refrain from making predictions now, but I have to say that I do not sleep well. It will be very difficult if Europe continues its one-sided approach. If they think that the members of the Serbian nation in Bosnia-Hercegovina cannot have weapons and equipment in their own country, and then turn a blind eye to the tens of thousands of members of the Croatian and Muslim armed formations, then peace will be a long time coming to this region. Europe must finally realize that its behavior and policies should be aimed at calming, not stirring the fire in the Balkans.

Fate or Chance

[Scekic] You arrived in the Palace of the Federation when this country still had all six republics. Now it has two. Do you, as vice president of the SFRY Presidency, feel responsible for that?

[Kostic] I do not feel personally responsible, although I think I have been through a very difficult year. When many things become known, history will probably tell whether anything could have been done differently. There are views that we could have had what we have now with far fewer victims. I hold the opposite view. If we had waged war in Slovenia, we would have had incomparably more victims, than we had by pulling the army out of Slovenia, then a part of Croatia, and then out of Macedonia, without firing a single bullet.

History will show whether our decision to pull the army out of Slovenia was the first sign of the disintegration of Yugoslavia, or whether that had happened even before. If Yugoslavia was to be saved, then it should have been done on 15 March 1991, when we had that three-day session of the Presidency, and when the army leadership proposed the introduction of martial law. If the Presidency had then accepted that proposal, or if the army leadership had, with the approval of these four members of the Presidency, made the move of introducing martial law, than I do not exclude the possibility that Yugoslavia could have been saved.

[Scekic] Does that mean that you believe that Yugoslavia could have been saved by a military coup?

[Kostic] I personally believe that Yugoslavia could have been saved by a military coup at that time, although it would have been far more difficult than if it had been done a year earlier. I say this taking into account that there had already been an information blockade, so the people of Slovenia, and Croatia, considered the Yugoslav People's Army an occupation army. Still, I believe something could have been done in March. After that it was too late.

Air Force Chief Criticizes State, Army Leaders

LD0406104192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0922 GMT 4 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Jun (TANJUG)—We must convince the world that we are in favor of a peaceful option,

Lieutenant Colonel General Bozidar Stevanovic, commander of the Air Force and air defenses of the Army of the FRY, says in an interview published by the Belgrade-based "BORBA" today.

"Although we have been branded militant, we genuinely oppose any military option," Gen. Stevanovic said. "America succeeded in gaining support from the world public because our politicians were not flexible enough and allowed a biased view of the situation to prevail," he said.

Asked if the Army had plans to counter multinational forces, Gen. Stevanovic said the Army had no such plans except "to defend us from those who wish to impose their will on us."

Gen. Stevanovic said Air Force planes were no longer flying over Bosnia-Hercegovina because that former Yugoslav republic had, "following its entry into the United Nations, decided to put its air space under the control of Zagreb flight control." The Air Force and air defense commander denied that his units had shot down an AWACS [Airborne Warning and Control System] spy plane at the beginning of May.

Speaking about the Air Force's role in the fighting on the territories of former Yugoslavia, Gen. Stevanovic said that "actions of the entire Army, including the Air Force, were restrained by ill-advised and delayed decisions by both the state and top Army leaderships. The "stop-and-go" tactics were applied throughout the conflict."

According to Gen. Stevanovic, the structure and organization of the new Army will depend primarily on the organization of the new state and political decisions based on the interests of the nations and citizens of the FRY.

Imports, Exports Placed Under Government Control

LD0406112692 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1010 GMT 4 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, June 4 (TANJUG)—The government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia said on Thursday it was placing under control all imports and exports.

The goods may from now on cross the border only on being stamped by a special government commission, the announcement said.

The commission comprised, as set out, the representatives of the governments of Yugoslavia, Serbia and Montenegro and those of the National Bank of Yugoslavia.

The government decision specified that the agreement for imports/exports would be issued only together with the guarantee that the goods would be paid for "in keeping with the decision on taking out foreign currency abroad and on payment operations in transactions with foreign countries."

The government adopted the decision on Tuesday, in response to the introduction of international sanctions against Yugoslavia.

The U.N. Security Council adopted on Saturday measures of economic and political blockade against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Serbia

Milosevic Discusses Sanctions, Resignation Option

LD0406092992 London ITV Television Network in English 1800 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Interview with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic by correspondent Gaby Rado in Belgrade on 3 June; from the "Channel 4 News" program—recorded]

[Text] [Rado] Can you now think of a way out, a compromise which would lead to the lifting of sanctions?

[Milosevic] The first thing that I want to say: We want to cooperate with the UN. We don't think that we have to be confronted with the UN. We are part of world organization and I think that only on the basis of understanding what really happens here we can reach some—what we can consider—justful solution to our country.

[Rado] Mr. President, how do you answer the accusation that in the statements that you yourself have made over the past four years, you have created an expectation amongst the Serbian populations in Bosnia and Croatia that you would support them in breaking away from their own republics?

[Milosevic] Oh, that was not.... [changes thought] You can check very, very strictly what was our policy. We had a policy to have a continuation of Yugoslavia, to preserve Yugoslavia as a country which existed—and Yugoslavia—we were blamed that we want to create greater Serbia; that was not in any time our policy. We were very clear explaining that Serbia doesn't have any territorial pretension.

[Rado] What effect do you expect sanctions to have on Serbia?

[Milosevic] Sanctions will have a very bad effect in terms of economy. We are not an island, we are cooperating, our environment is world market, but I hope that sanctions will be lifted after clarification of a situation in Yugoslavia, after truth come on a scene. Now on a scene, on a political scene, are interest and power, not truth and justice.

[Rado] How concerned are you about the possibility of foreign military intervention here, and what steps are you taking against it?

[Milosevic] I really wonder anybody can start with any military intervention against country in which it exists

peace on every square centimeter, and which is not having any armed personnel anywhere out of that country. [sentence as heard] We are not phantoms; we don't have Army which can have secret actions. We cannot hide that in front our citizens. If we had any soldier out of Yugoslavia, we could have protests of our citizens, of parents and relatives. It is very clear to all our people, all our citizens in Serbia, that we really do not have it. How anybody can find a basis for any intervention against us, for not having any military action to anybody? [sentence as heard]

[Rado] Do you think it's a possibility?

[Milosevic] Well, that can be absolutely unjustful and kind of aggression to our country. If that happens, I don't think international community can support something like that.

[Rado] If the best path to peace now seems to be your own departure from office, your own resignation, would you take that path?

[Milosevic] Absolutely, if it is a price for lifting all sanctions so justful solution—that is cheapest way for that—it is no problem at all. And I will say to you who can be happiest for that: my family, my children and my wife. In that case, it is not a problem. A problem is absolutely different. Problem is a continuation of existence of our country and right of our people to put in order on their own will how they are going to live together, not to be dictated from outside.

[Rado] It must concern you, though, that you are not trusted by the world community. People say that you are not believed. Does that concern you, that attitude from the outside?

[Milosevic] Absolutely, but just because of that I am saying don't trust me.... [changes thought] If you don't trust, don't trust me, please send people and check, trust you own eyes, not to me. [Belgrade TANJUG in English at 0435 GMT on 4 June reports that the Milosevic intervbiew was also broadcast by "TV Belgrade."]

Milosevic, Jovanovic Interviewed on Greek TV

LD0306230692 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2138 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] Athens, 3 Jun (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic assessed today's arrival of Greek World War I veterans in Belgrade as "the expression of the solidarity of the Greek people with the Serbian people...exposed to unjust sanctions because they are defending their dignity."

Mega, the most popular Greek commercial television channel, carried interviews with Milosevic and Foreign Minister Jovanovic in the peak viewing period this evening, underlining that the Serbian president "is not concealing optimism amid international isolation."

Asked how he viewed the latest report of UN Secretary General Butrus Ghali who, as was said, "for the first time accused both the Serbs and the Croatians equally for the continuing violence in Bosnia," Milosevic said this is "the first major step toward the truth," and that, although optimistic, he "did not expect such good news."

He explained that "we have been saying from the very beginning that the truth would have to reach the international public after a certain period of time; that we did not carry out any aggression; and that we would not have been able to hide such a thing from our own people."

Milosevic said the responsibility for the world's negative attitude toward Serbia lies with "those who are furnishing the information, because they were doing so neither objectively nor honorably."

Vladislav Jovanovic also felt the international anti-Serbian climate was "the result of a strange, inconceivable, and united organization for creating and spreading half truths—if not misinformation."

He condemned the press campaign in the West that is "calling on the people of Yugoslavia and Serbia to topple their own legitimate government." As for the "scenario for a Balkan war," he said: "This is definitely not on our mind because we are against any kind of war, just as we are against the horrible fratricidal war in Bosnia-Hercegovina."

Jovanovic also said the "premature recognition" of Bosnia- Hercegovina's independence had an effect on the outbreak of the conflict—even more so "the interests of the Muslims to show that events would take this direction."

Government Considers 'Difficulties' of Sanctions

LD0306221292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2052 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 3 Jun (TANJUG)—At today's session, chaired by Prime Minister Radoman Bozovic, which considered Security Council Resolution 757, the Government of the Republic of Serbia examined the latest situation and the related tasks in the political, economic, scientific, technological, cultural, and other fields.

The government resolutely rejects as unfounded accusations about alleged aggression waged by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] against Bosnia-Hercegovina, and termed the sanctions as unjust and inappropriate. The government supports efforts and concrete measures of the FRY Presidency aimed at overcoming the current situation through a constructive attitude toward all reasonable demands, and the strengthening of contacts and cooperation with all relevant factors, and above all the United Nations.

Expressing its deep regret and dissatisfaction over the vote on the resolution, the government stresses that the

latest developments did not catch it by surprise, and that it undertook the necessary preventative steps and actions aimed at alleviating the negative consequences even before the resolution was announced.

The government, the statement says, charges relevant departments with undertaking additional tasks and actions so that the Republic and its citizens can face the complex and serious consequences of individual measures of the resolution.

The government informs all citizens of the Republic that it will do everything on its part to ensure that the negative consequences of these sanctions are not felt in everyday life. It appeals to all citizens to accept with understanding the necessary restrictions and difficulties, and the government will do everything to ensure that these will be as brief as possible and avoidable, if possible. [passage omitted]

Foreign Minister on UN Resolution, Bosnia Issues

LD0306190892 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1630 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Telephone interview with Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic by Vilmos Kovacs; Jovanovic speaks in Serbo-Croatian with superimposed Hungarian translation; place and date not given; recorded—from the "Extra" program]

[Excerpts] [Kovacs] What does the UN embargo mean for Serbia?

[Jovanovic] It means that the UN Security Council, under pressure from some countries, has taken a biased and unfair stance, according to which Serbia is an aggressor and the cause of the outbreak of the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina. These countries have been supporting the separatists since the beginning of the Yugoslav crisis. The UN Security Council took a pointless step, for everyone knows well that in Bosnia-Hercegovina there is a civil war between the three nations and that Yugoslavia, or Serbia, cannot be the only one guilty or responsible for the events. We only are involved to the extent that we support the legal rights of the Serbian people living in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and urge that the constituent right of the Serbian people should be fully respected when the new constitutional system of Bosnia-Hercegovina is being worked out.

We would like an agreement to be reached between the three constituent peoples. Whatever the agreement may be, we will accept it. The crisis can be settled very simply and this is what the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina want, too. An immediate cease-fire should take effect, and the conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina should be urgently continued. The conference must not be stopped before the three sides have concluded an agreement on the basis of the basic principle already adopted; namely, that Bosnia-Hercegovina will be a canton-system confederation of the three peoples. We have not demanded anything else. [passage omitted]

Apart from the Croatian armed forces, foreign mercenaries also have been fighting in Bosnia-Hercegovina, just as in Croatia earlier.

[Kovacs] In your view, where did they come from?

[Jovanovic] They belong to all sorts of nations. Many were killed or captured, but some disappeared without a trace. [passage omitted]

[Kovacs] The federal army also is in Bosnia-Hercegovina?

[Jovanovic] The Yugoslav Army stayed in the republic because of the speedy recognition of the independence of Bosnia-Hercegovina; that is, because the recognition took place before the completion of the Bosnia-Hercegovina conference. That is why we say that the recognition was unnecessary and harmful and that it contributed to the flaring up of the fighting and the development of the present situation. We were forced to create a new Yugoslavia on 27 March, for many republics decided in favor of separation. We said then that we would not interfere any more in the internal affairs of Bosnia-Hercegovina and that the units of the federal army were not under the command of the Yugoslav Presidency. We suggested talks to the president of Bosnia-Hercegovina about the reorganization of the army units. There was a meeting in Skopje, but President Izetbegovic breached the agreement the very next day and gave an order to the the Muslim Territorial Defense units to attack the federal army units stationed in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Despite this, Franjo Kostic, interim Yugoslav president, proposed further talks. The president of Bosnia-Hercegovina agreed to this, but on the appointed day he disappeared. So, according to this, it is the Muslim leaders who want to solve the question of the federal army by force, for they hope that by this means they will bring about foreign military intervention. [passage omitted]

We all condemn the attack on the bread line, but the case is suspicious and one can conclude that the Muslim leadership ordered the action to influence members of the Security Council to the greatest possible degree prior to imposing sanctions. [passage omitted]

[Kovacs] If the conference suggested by the acting Yugoslav president takes place, will Yugoslavia recognize the independence of the other republics?

[Jovanovic] There are two things that we never have doubted. We have not questioned the right of self-determination of the constituent peoples and their republics, their right to leave Yugoslavia. We also do not question international recognition. We did not question these two rights at the CSCE or at the United Nations.

Would we recognize them or not? We keep to the resolutions of the Yugoslavia conference. They decided at this meeting (?as well as in The Hague) that until the

successful conclusion of the conference, no recognition would take place. We keep to this, unlike other countries and Lord Carrington, who acted otherwise.

In our letter to the UN secretary general we repeated our stance that recognition is not a question of substance. It is more important to settle the situation prevailing in the various republics. A solution suitable for all three constituent nations has to be found in Bosnia-Hercegovina. This is the purpose of the Lisbon conference. It also has taken the stance that until the end of the talks on Bosnia-Hercegovina the republic does not have to be recognized. However, several countries have broken this, including yours.

In our view, negotiations must start in Croatia between the representatives of the Serbs of Krajina and the Zagreb government concerning the future of the areas under UN supervision in Croatia. So, in our view, recognition is a procedural matter. [passage omitted]

Prime Minister Discusses UN Sanctions

AU0306134592 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1853 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Interview with Serbian Prime Minister Radoman Bozovic by Belgrade Television journalist Ratko Dmitrovic; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Dmitrovic] Esteemed viewers, we will be talking to Mr. Radoman Bozovic, prime minister of the Republic of Serbia, about the sanctions that the United Nations introduced against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], that is to say Serbia and Montenegro, the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and the consequences of these sanctions.

Mr. Bozovic, the explanation that came together with this package of sanctions from the United States says that these sanctions are being introduced because Serbia is the most to blame for the war that is still raging in Bosnia-Hercegovina. This implies that there are some other culprits. However, they are not even partly affected by these sanctions. How do you explain this partiality?

[Bozovic] First of all, it is more than clear that the sanctions are not only unjust but that they do not solve the problem that was on the United Nations agenda either, that is, the problem of the civil war in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Therefore not only the explanation, but also some other conclusions, such as the conclusion that it is necessary to ask the Croatian authorities to pull their army out of the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the conclusions that in fact introduce the aim of interfering in the internal political affairs of Serbia, in fact show that those who proposed the sanctions had for the main part the aim of achieving some other effects other than solving the problem of the civil war in Bosnia- Hercegovina.

Therefore, I am convinced that, regardless of the negative effects of these sanctions on our economy, they are not only unjust but also that they do not solve the problem of the civil war in Bosnia-Hercegovina. This issue must be seen in the light of the facts that are today indeed notorious, facts that explain both the causes and effects of the civil war in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Accusing Serbia of aggression in Bosnia-Hercegovina is simply funny. Aggression presupposes that the FRY and Serbia have set up an army and that this army is at war in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Every one of our citizens knows that this is pure speculation, that only several hundred youths are in the barracks, that is to say, in the military facilities, who are unable to pull out and return to the FRY, and that we are doing our best, accepting virtually all demands, to pull these men out and in this way demonstrate quite clearly in practice that no army of ours is in Bosnia-Hercegovina, that a civil war is being waged in Bosnia-Hercegovina between three national armies, and that it would be just to demand from all three national armies in Bosnia-Hercegovina that they lay down their arms and hold talks on a peaceful settlement of the conflict on a tripartite principle within the conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina and other forms of participation of the United Nations and international institutions.

Therefore, the meaning and nature of the measures, and the explanation of why they were introduced, is in fact in conflict with, I hope, the interests of the United Nations in exerting an influence so that the civil war in Bosnia-Hercegovina will stop and a just solution is found.

[Dmitrovic] In addition to everything that you have said, one should also bear in mind the fact that until these conflicts and the crisis in Yugoslavia broke out, Bosnia-Hercegovina did not exist as an independent state, but that it was in fact created during the war.

[Bozovic] That is correct. The fact is that the EC, the United States, and some other countries participated most directly in the worsening of the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina by recognizing Bosnia-Hercegovina as an international legal subject despite the fact that it did not meet a single condition. There was neither peace in that country, nor did the authorities of that country control all its territory, nor was there an agreement between the three peoples who in practical terms give that country its identity [subjektivitet]. Therefore it is more than clear that the EC and the international public cannot be freed from responsibility for the bloody war in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

[Dmitrovic] U.S. President Mr. George Bush made a very interesting speech. His statement that the policy conducted by the Republic of Serbia dangerously threatens the national security of the United States sounded surprising.

[Bozovic] This is really ridiculous and is therefore difficult to explain even with the panic wish of Mr. Bush to secure some advantages for himself in the election period by explaining that the situation in the FRY and Serbia is a situation that threatens the national security of the

United States. Perhaps national security implies that the will of the citizens of Serbia and the FRY to live in the common democratic state of the FRY threatens the United States and perhaps this is considered contrary to the national interests and national security of the United States, but I hope that this is not the case. It is really difficult to understand that our support for the will of those peoples who want to and have set up their national states—but not to the detriment of others—and those who want to remain in the common state of FRY is being explained as threatening someone else's interests, even if this is done by the President of the United States of America. [passage omitted]

[Dmitrovic] Regardless of the explanation that has been given by the United Nations for the sanctions, it is a fact that these are aimed against the entire people, against the Serbian people and against the Montenegrin people and that these are in fact an economic showdown with these two peoples. Is there any reason to fear that chaos may reign and there may be shortages which may even verge on hunger? Has the government prepared an answer to all that?

[Bozovic] The assessments that the sanctions will bring Serbia to its knees and that they will cause hunger and chaos are simply unfounded and incorrect. Unfortunately, a number of countries are already wishing this even publicly, which is a proof that the aim of their advocating the imposition of sanctions was not to solve the problems in Bosnia-Hercegovina, but to punish Serbia and Montenegro for maintaining their joint state and their just attitude—of which I am deeply convinced—to seeking solutions to the problems of conflicts in other parts of Yugoslavia.

Because of the indications that there would be an economic blockade the Government of the Republic of Serbia has constantly been preparing and implementing a series of measures. It should be recalled that several countries introduced this blockade even earlier and that, since they felt the consequences, our enterprises sought appropriate solutions to mitigate the negative consequences. It should be realized that virtually from the beginning of the war in Slovenia and Croatia, a large number of countries withheld, I would say, normal economic cooperation with our country.

It should also be borne in mind that for 10 or 15 years now we have had a net capital outflow from Yugoslavia and particularly from these parts of Yugoslavia. It can freely be said that some help was lacking in the past too. It should also be borne in mind that even earlier foreign partners cooperated with our businesses on the basis of mutual interest and the principle of a market economy. The Serbian and Yugoslav economies are not like the Bulgarian economy or those that until recently were centralized economies having only established contact with the international market a few months ago.

[Dmitrovic] Albania too.

[Bozovic] Yes. The Serbian and Yugoslavia economies have been on the international market for over a decade, or two decades, so that many of our enterprises have their own mixed and other enterprises throughout the world and this flow of capital is very dynamic. It is not possible to expect—regardless of the rigid determination of the governments of certain countries to place all economic trends under control and cause a complete blockade of Serbia and the FRY—it is not possible to expect that they can completely place this under control because capital will always look for a way to meet its own interests.

Bearing all this in mind and particularly the measures that concern the blockade on oil imports, the fact is that this represents a need and the government has acted in this regard and adopted a series of measures which ensure, I would say, that the consequences in this field are mitigated. These are above all measures to increase domestic production through the corresponding technical standards. By respecting the corresponding technical standards, there has already been an increase in domestic oil production by an extra 20 percent, which, together with the previous production, provides a third of total needs.

Moreover, measures have been taken in the field of transportation, industry, and in some other fields in order to restructure the use of power, switching partly to electrical energy—where Serbia is a significant producer of market surpluses—and switching in part to coal and some other sources of energy and creating opportunities to absorb the impact of the consequences of the oil embargo without major problems.

Of course, our assumption and our aim is not to formulate a program so that we live in economic isolation in the long term, but to do everything in the economic and diplomatic and state sense so that the measures that have been unjustly adopted are scrapped as soon as possible and to create conditions so that our economy as a whole interacts with the international market, the capital market, on market principles of competition.

The government has also prepared a very active program of protection for the national company JAT [the Yugoslav airline] which is suffering enormously from the consequences of this unjust blockade. The energy program also implies a very clear response that discounts any risk whatsoever that the harvest will not brought in in good time and be of good quality.

Therefore, all these segments of this program were adopted with the aim of being put into operation and in the last few days have already begun to be put into practice in the hope that these sanctions will not last for long. We will endeavor to introduce as few administrative restrictions as possible. In practical terms, through all economic measures appropriate to restructuring, we will endeavor to mitigate these consequences because we think that it would be bad to immediately come to the conclusion that it is now necessary to abandon the

market orientation, an orientation toward the market economy, and switch to some command economy in which the dominant element would be the redistribution of goods.

In other fields, particularly in the sphere of food production and other spheres, we think that there will not be any serious disturbances at all. We will take a whole string of measures through the commodity reserves and other institutions in order to ensure the stable functioning of the market, the market in this field.

All this together makes us obliged to adopt this economic policy program as soon as possible, which would have the aim of putting the problems in the field of inflation and prices in some kind of order. I can therefore say that under no circumstances is the anti- inflationary economic policy program being abandoned. True, new facts and new restrictions are being introduced. Therefore it is now necessary to synchronize all those balances that form the basis of the program with the reality that proceeds from the economic blockade measures. Therefore there is no justification whatsoever for any panic or upset. However, there is definitely a need to seek within the Economic Chamber, the Government, and links with the business community the best solutions to alleviate the consequences that will arise and will influence the level of production and thus other economic indicators.

Thus, assuming that the truth about the situation in Yugoslavia and Serbia will be assessed on the facts and assuming that the civil war in Bosnia-Hercegovina will really be assessed on the facts that cause it and continue it and will be resolved on these principles, I think that all the injustice and all the unfounded arguments in the introduction of economic sanctions against the FRY will very soon shown up. [passage omitted]

Government Wants Armies To Surrender Arms

AU0206151492 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] The Serbian Government is energetically advocating that all three national armies in Bosnia-Hercegovina should surrender their arms at the same time and that negotiations on a peaceful solution to the clashes should be continued. Serbian Prime Minister Radoman Bozovic said this at a news conference for domestic and foreign reporters in Belgrade. Here is a report by Dusica Jovanovic:

[Begin recording] [Jovanovic] Although it was originally to be held during the second part of the 30th International May Meeting of Touristic Journalists—Montenegrin Prime Minister Milo Djukanovic held a news conference during the first part of the meeting, which was held in Herceg Novi. Due to great interest, Radoman Bozovic's news conference was open to all permanent and special foreign correspondents. Tourism was the topic least discussed. For over an hour, the Serbian prime minister was subjected to a barrage of questions that were not at all pleasant, but were rather malicious. He calmly replied to every question, most of which concerned the latest UN Security Council resolution. In this connection, Bozovic said the following:

[Bozovic] The measures of economic and political blockade of Yugoslavia are essentially unjust, and I am convinced that their imposition fails to solve the problem that was put before the World Organization. That problem was to end the civil war in Bosnia-Hercegovina. The civil war between the three peoples and three religions is fatal, and it does not do anyone any good. The Government of the Republic of Serbia and Yugoslavia is of the opinion that the war should be ended unconditionally and replaced with negotiations among those people who must and should live together on these territories as a result of an agreement on different forms of cohabitation.

Serbia is no aggressor. Therefore, I cannot provide a reply to a question to which simply every citizen of Serbia knows the answer. Every citizen of the world who is staying in Serbia for whatever reason knows that no aggression... [changes thought] that Serbia has sent no army to carry out aggression from its territory. What is unfortunately happening in Bosnia is a tragic civil conflict and a civil war of peoples who are living on this territory, and it must be ended. I want to believe that the United Nations, Europe, and the entire democratic world will exert pressure on the representatives of all three national communities to submit arms and seek solution trough dialogue.

[Jovanovic] Conveying the stand of the Serbian Government, Radoman Bozovic said that it advocates without reservation the punishment of all those people who are shelling towns, no matter which side they belong to. This must be established, however, and, Bozovic said, this would be a more logical task for the United Nations than punishing Serbia for something it has not done. [end recording]

Prime Minister Views Current Political Problems

LD0206190692 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1745 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, 2 June (TANJUG)—Serbian Premier Radoman Bozovic said on Tuesday there was no reason why a coalition federal government should not be formed, but it was not feasible to form a national salvation government because it would mean annulling the results of elections held at the weekend.

Speaking to foreign correspondents in Belgrade, Premier Bozovic said that officials of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) had declared the weekend elections undemocratic even before they were held.

In answer to a question about a possible military intervention in Yugolavia, Bozovik said there could be no intervention in a country which is not in conflict with anybody.

The Serbian premier said that the political and economic sanctions adopted by the U.N. Security Council against Serbia and Montenegro, the republics which make up the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, were unjustified and did not resolve the problem of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The population of Bosnia-Hercegovina is 44 percent Muslim, 32 percent Serb and 17 percent Croat. This former Yugoslav republic is torn by civil war, which has escalated since the European Community's recognition of the republic's sovereignty at the request of a Muslim-Croat coalition made without the consent of the republic's Serbs.

In response to Bosnia-Hercegovina's secession from the former Yugoslavia, the republic's Serbs have set up their own republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina in the parts where they make up the majority of the population, in an effort to protect themselves against being outvoted by the Muslim-Croat coalition and countering its attempts to turn them from a constitutive nation into an ethnic minority.

According to Bozovic, the government of Serbia is prepared to discuss all demands made by the Security Council, but it is not ready to confess to a crime it did not commit. In everything else, Serbia is ready to cooperate in keeping with the standards of the United Nations, Bozovic said.

Asked if the economies of Serbia and Yugoslavia were on the verge of collapse because of the sanctions, Bozovic said there was no likelihood of that, because the vitality and structure of the economies of Serbia and Yugoslavia was such as to permit them to withstand the blockade.

However, it is hardly democratic to test the endurance of a nation by submitting it to blockades, Bozovic said.

He added that forecasts that the blockade would go on for months were wrong, and hoped that reason and democratic principles would prevail.

Bozovic said that the Serbian government was ready for dialogue with ethnic Albanian political parties in the Serbian province of Kosovo about everything "except the province's secession from Serbia and Yugoslavia."

Opposition Leader Wants Transition Government

LD0406112392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0729 GMT 4 Jun 92

[Text] Nis, June 4 (TANJUG) - The Democratic Party, one of the leading opposition parties in Serzawn believes Serbia needs a transition government which would be the result of a compromise by all parliamentary parties and groups in the republic, said Democratic Party President Dragoljub Micunovic on Wednesday evening.

The possibility of forming a coalition government of the ruling party (the Socialist Party of Serbia) and opposition parties has even been indicated by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic himself, after the elections for the Yugoslav federal parliament last Sunday.

Milosevic said such an opportunity was possible but depended on the results of Sunday's elections and the position of parties in the republican parliament.

The National Party, in addition to several other opposition parties and non-parliamentary parties and movements want a government of "national salvation", that is some kind of concentric government.

The Serbian Radical Party, which came in second in Sunday's elections, has not commented on this issue to date.

SPS Issues Statement on Elections, War

LD0306205192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1921 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Jun (TANJUG)—The elections confirmed that the Serbian Socialist Party [SPS] enjoys the support of the citizens of Serbia and that it is the best organized political party in Serbia, a statement from today's session of the SPS Executive Committee stresses.

The Executive Committee has decided to propose to the SPS Main Board to hold a party congress by the end of the year "with the aim of affirming SPS program orientations under the new conditions."

The statement assesses that the UN Security Council sanctions are unjust and inappropriate for establishing peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina. "Serbia and Yugoslavia cannot accept accusations that they have carried out aggression in Bosnia-Hercegovina and are the cause of the civil war there. Three nations, each with its own armed formations, are taking part in conflicts there. The only road to peace is through political negotiations. Peace cannot be achieved through pressures on, accusations against, and punishments of one side, while the others are favored and thereby encouraged to wage a war," the SPS Executive Committee holds.

"Cooperation with the United Nations should continue, and all measures of the Security Council that pave the way for a peaceful settlement of the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina should be supported. Serbia and Yugoslavia have no territorial claims over Bosnia-Hercegovina and they proposed to the United States and Russia that joint control of all armed formations in Bosnia-Hercegovina be secured. We demand that all bombings of cities end; that all heavy weapons are handed over to either Yugoslav or international forces; that the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] take over control of the Sarajevo airport and ensure safe passage to humanitarian aid for war victims. It cannot be

demanded that we be responsible for events in Bosnia-Hercegovina over which we have no control," the statement says.

The SPS Executive Committee noted that "the Socialist Party is prepared to cooperate with all patriotically oriented parties. We regret that an agreement was not reached previously on the need to speedily form new institutions of the new federal state. As the ruling party, the SPS cannot be responsible for the grave consequences of a slow pace for the reorganization and constitution of the Yugoslav state," the statement says.

Noting that the SPS is willing to talk about all political issues with all parties and movements, the statement stresses "the most able and respected people, regardless of their political orientations, ought to enter" the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The SPS is reviving and setting in motion new initiatives aimed at holding talks with representatives of national minorities, in particular Albanians in Kosovo and Metohija. All elements of full equality of all citizens of Serbia and the international recognition of the rights of national minorities should be discussed in these talks, the statement says.

The SPS stresses that it is urging all parties to avoid confrontation and to secure the minimum for the necessary national and civil unity.

Socialist Party Wins Citizens Chamber Elections

LD0306211892 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2007 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 3 Jun (TANJUG)—The Serbian Socialist Party [SPS] has won a convincing victory in the elections in Serbia for deputies to the Chamber of Citizens of the Federal Assembly. It won a majority both in the majority vote system and on the basis of proportional representation. This was revealed at a news conference in the republican electoral commission.

Election Commission Chairman Caslav Ignjatovic stressed that Serbia was voting for 108 deputies in the Chamber of Citizens: 54 deputies on the basis of the majority vote system and 54 on the basis of proportional representation. Apart from two constituencies, Urosevac, from where data has not yet been received, and Sombor, where voting has been annulled at some polling stations, results are known for the remaining 52 units.

In the elections based on the majority system, the SPS won 42 seats, the Serbian Radical Party [Srpska Radikalna Stranka] 7, the Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians [Demokartska Zajednica Vojvodjanskih Madjara] 2, and an independent candidate won a seat. [passage omitted]

In the voting based on proportional representation, the SPS won 31 seats and the Serbian Radical Party 23.

The news conference also heard that 56.64 percent of registered voters took part in the voting based on the majority system and 55.98 percent in voting based on proportional representation.

Duty-Free Trade With Macedonia Proposed

92BA0961B Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 13 May 92 p 10

[Article by A. Mijalkovic: "Trade With Macedonia Without Customs"]

[Text] The Presidium of the Economic Chamber of Serbia, which met yesterday, has sent to the Serbian government a proposal containing the basic principles of economic cooperation between the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] and Macedonia. According to Vlajko Stojilkovic, president of the Economic Chamber of Serbia [PKS], these principles do not differ essentially from the positions of the government, according to the information he has received in direct talks with Prime Minister Bozovic and certain ministers.

How, then, would future trade and payments take place with neighboring Macedonia? First of all, trade must be equal, balanced, and without customs, at least until there is a final solution to economic and political relations among the republics of the former Yugoslavia. Adoption of tariffs would burden the trade in production supplies and goods which up to now have been procured without customs charges, and that would give a new impetus to inflation.

Commodity Lists as Soon as Possible

Beyond that, no special taxes should be introduced on goods from Macedonia (this has already proved unacceptable to the Serbian economy importing goods from Slovenia and Croatia), but the existing tax rate should be applied.

Until a payments agreement is reached, the conduct of business with Macedonia would be regulated through compensation deals. The accounting would be done in dollars, payment would be done through clearing, and manipulative credits might be used. Although the ultimate purpose is convertible mutual settlement, the model of limited settlement ought to be applied for the present—a combination of clearing and compensation.

Clearing is at the moment the most painless solution for continuation of economic cooperation with Macedonia, because it makes it possible to cancel offsetting mutual claims without using foreign exchange, the Economic Chamber judges. It is indispensable, however, to establish commodity lists as soon as possible; agreement on them would be reached by the republic economic chambers. Goods not on those lists would be paid for through compensation deals.

In the chamber, they feel that industrial cooperation with Macedonian firms should continue, subject to the

changes that apply to all other foreign partners, on the basis of the law on foreign commerce and respecting the principle of equal value of imports and exports, and a so-called contra account would be instituted.

Transportation between the two republics, the PKS proposes, would best be regulated by a separate agreement, and settlement would go through a clearing account. Until this agreement is adopted, it would be necessary to introduce reciprocal measures as urgently as possible with respect to collection of highway tolls, fuel, and station services for passenger transportation and other costs.

Why Free Zones in Serbia Are Not "Flourishing"

And while on the one hand Serbian businessmen are seeking the best way of preserving previous ties and establishing those that have been severed with partners in the former Yugoslav republics, on the other they are trying to become as attractive as possible to trading partners and investors from the advanced countries of the world. In that desire, it is especially important to establish free trade zones and freight transportation centers in Serbia, and this was also discussed in yesterday's meeting of the Presidium of the PKS.

"The general assessment of the development of free trade zones in Serbia (the program and plan for development of the one in Belgrade—which encompasses Belgrade, Kovin, Pancevo, and Smederevo—has already been presented here in detail, but information on the free trade zone of Sabac, Subotica, Novi Sad, and Prahovo is being examined in the presidium for the first time) would be that the preconditions have not been brought about as the basis for the plans and programs," Momir Pavicevic, M.A., member of the PKS Presidium, said in his introductory address. According to what he said, the reasons for this assessment are that there is no up-to-date law on free trade zones that would give advantages to the foreign trading partner, the political situation in the country, which is why investors are not coming from abroad, and there is no domestic capital; discrepancies from one law to another, especially the tax law and the law on construction in free trade zones, and relations in property law have not been worked out concerning the land the zones occupy as legal entities.

Along with dealing with all these "items," it is also necessary for the chamber itself to commit itself more in promoting the possibility of free trade zones in the country and abroad and their business ties with domestic and foreign partners, according to the resolution adopted in the meeting of the presidium.

Kosovo

Swedish Delegation on Possible Conflict Areas

LD0206175792 Tirana Radio Tirana in English 0330 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] The President of the Republic of Kosovo Mr. Ibrahim Rugova, received on Sunday a Swedish delegation which is visiting Kosovo with the assignment of assessing the situation in one of the regions where the outbreak of a conflict is more possible.

Rugova said the militarization of Kosovo by the Serbian regime is the main factor of the region's crisis, therefore more intense efforts by the international community are needed to demilitarize Kosovo.

Rugova also informed the Swedish guests on the results of the multi-party elections held in Kosovo on 24 May through which the Kosovo people expressed their will in support of the multi-party system and the democratic parliament. The Swedish delegation pledged commitment for aid to help overcome the grave situation in Kosovo. It will inform the Swedish authorities of the facts gathered in Kosovo which would help prevent the eruption of a conflict. The delegation praised the peaceful policy of the Albanians in Kosovo.

Vojvodina

Hungarian Candidates Win Seats in Subotica

LD0206205692 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2000 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] According to partial results from the elections held the day before yesterday, in Szabadka [Subotica], 14 candidates of the Democratic Community of Hungarians in Vojvodina [VMDK] have already entered the city's representative body. Twenty-one candidates from the organization obtained the right to run in the second round. It appears that one of the city's representatives in the Belgrade legislature will be Csaba Sepsey. In Obecse [Becej], Bela Csorba obtained the most votes. From the latter district, Janos Bozoki and Janos Urban were voted into the provincial house of deputies.

Ethnic Hungarian Daily Wins Victory on Editor Vojvodina's Decision

92BA0975A Novi Sad MAGYAR SZO in Hungarian 21 May 92 p 1

[Unattributed article—first paragraph is MAGYAR SZO introduction]

[Text] Sandor Balint is the editor in chief of MAGYAR SZO; mass communication in adverse situation; dismissals and appointments; as presently constituted, Provincial House of Representatives held its final meeting.

The Provincial [Vojvodina] House of Representatives appointed Master Sandor Balint to serve as editor in chief and responsible editor of MAGYAR SZO at its meeting yesterday, the final session of that body as presently constituted.

The Appointments Committee of the House of Representatives supported its recommendation by saying that Sandor Balint's position as a journalist and editor of the newspaper, and his ability to attract the largest number

of votes of confidence from members of the editorial office, were the most important considerations. In addition, the editorial policy concept proposed by Balint would enable MAGYAR SZO to remain above partisan interests and to be open to everyone.

Sandor Balint was born in 1950 in Kisorosz (Rusko Selo) near Kikinda and attended elementary school there. He completed his high school education at the Koca Kolarov Gymnasium in Zrenjanini and obtained a teacher's diploma from the Hungarian Language and Literature Department at the Ujvidek [Novi Sad] School of Philosophy in 1975. Balint completed his postgraduate studies at the same place, successfully defended his degree in 1986 with a dissertation entitled "Milan Fust's Short Stories," and was awarded a masters' degree in literature.

He began working at the editorial offices of MAGYAR SZO in 1974. As an associate and deputy editor for the cultural column he dealt with educational issues. He has been the editor of the newspaper's Saturday supplement "Kilato" dealing with culture, literature, and the arts since 1984.

His articles, interviews, and studies have also appeared in newspapers and periodicals published in Yugoslavia, Hungary, Romania, and Czechoslovakia, and as collected works.

Balint won the second prize in a demographic study competition awarded by the scientific journal LETUNK of Szabadka [Subotica] in 1990. On 22 April 1992 the community of workers at MAGYAR SZO elected by secret ballot Sandor Balint from among five candidates to become the newspaper's editor in chief. At its 13 May session the Appointments and Cadre Affairs Committee of the Territorial House of Representatives supported Balint's appointment, and the Territorial House of Representatives decided to appoint Sandor Balint as editor in chief of MAGYAR SZO on 20 May.

Editorial's Reaction

92BA0975B Novi Sad MAGYAR SZO in Hungarian 21 May 92 p 1

[Editorial by Janos Kubat, member of MAGYAR SZO's editorial board: "This Is What We Wanted!"]

[Text] Miklos Maroti was appointed editor in chief of MAGYAR SZO on 3 December 1991. A day later we reported our common view in large print: We will not recognize the newly appointed editor in chief and will not include his name on the masthead.

At the end of the article we had this to say: "We ask those who momentarily possess more political strength than we do to demonstrate their maturity and to join us around a table so that we may jointly try to find a strong, sober, diligent and creative editor in chief to the satisfaction of the readers, the MAGYAR SZO journalists as well as the present provincial leadership."

This is what we had asked for, and five months later our wish has come true. Our colleague, Sandor Balint, the winner in secret ballots cast at the editorial office, was appointed yesterday by the Territorial House of Representatives to head this newspaper for a four-year term.

As it turned out, it was worth saying "no." As it turned out, it was worth tenaciously and soberly insisting upon maintaining to the utmost the principle that every communication medium elects its leader from its own ranks and that no dominating political commissar can be forced upon a news medium from the outside in an effort to ensure the continued security of the power structure.

We, the journalists of MAGYAR SZO, are not dancing the cancan and do not think that we are running around our own small field of competition wearing the laurel wreath to which victors are entitled. All we know is this: We have crossed one of the straits of the mountain range toward Europe while remaining in the saddle; nevertheless, there still is a long road ahead of us. We will not protect our heads in the future either, but our faces—our honor—instead, and would like to perform our agreed-upon task in an honorable manner: by remaining the liberal, objective newspaper of a democratic public, and by never permitting those who advocate passions, extremes, warmongering, or power mania to prevail on the pages of this newspaper.

Montenegro

Republic Ready To Meet World Community's Demands

LD0406110392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0957 GMT 4 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, June 4 (TANJUG)—President of the Presidency of Montenegro Momir Bulatovic expressed the readiness of this Yugoslav republic to meet demands set by the world community so that the sanctions imposed by the U.N. Security Council on Yugoslavia may be lifted.

"We in Montenegro are ready to do absolutely everything to meet the demands of the world community and at the same time to preserve justice, dignity and [words indistinct] our people," said Bulatovic as reported by BORBA in Belgrade on Thursday [4 June].

The Montenegrin president said that through careful reading of the document on the sanctions "it can be clearly seen that room has been left for eliminating all obstacles that are in the way of lifting the sanctions, but at the same time to preserve the wish of our peoples to live in a common state."

"We intend to urge that new, politically uncompromised figures head the new state who will be competent to represent the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia," the Montenegrin president said.

After Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia and Bosnia-Hercegovina seceded from the former Yugoslavia, the new Yugoslavia is composed of the republics of Montenegro and Serbia.

Macedonia

Gligorov Returns After 'Frank' Talks in Albania

LD0306215592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2012 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] Ohrid, 3 Jun (TANJUG)—Kiro Gligorov, president of the Republic of Macedonia, made a statement in Skopje on his return from Tirana where he was the guest of Albanian President Sali Berisha. He said that the first Albanian-Macedonian summit was marked by "frank talks on all issues". Gligorov drew special attention to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, the current situation in the broad area of the Balkans, and some "specific problems," such as the Macedonians in Albania and their living conditions, as well as the Albanians in Macedonia.

President Gligorov also mentioned joint economic interests, such as the continuation of building the oil pipeline via Macedonia to Albania, in which Italy is also interested, railway links, and other important projects "which require international (financial) aid."

"We talked about joint performance at the international level where our interests are identical," Gligorov said adding that he invited Albanian President Berisha to visit Macedonia. He did not specify whether or when this visit will take place, but said that Berisha is "a man with European views, open to dialogue." He added that he does not see any questions which cannot be resolved "one at a time, in a friendly and constructive way."

The Macedonian president described the atmosphere during the whole of his one-day visit to Tirana as "official and formal, but above all friendly."

Macedonian Foreign Minister Denko Maleski, Macedonian Assembly Deputy Speaker Dzevadin Murati, and Deputy Prime Minister Jovan Andov accompanied President Gligorov on his visit to Tirana.

Ministry Attempts To Seize TANJUG Property

LD0306205992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1024 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Excerpt] Skopje, 3 Jun (TANJUG)—This morning, without any authorization, a "team" from the Macedonian Information Ministry tried forcibly to seize the premises and property which has been under TANJUG ownership for the last 17 years.

According to an Information Ministry official, the action was ordered by the Government and Information Ministry of Macedonia. [passage omitted]